

THE BAN *of* THE BORI

DEMONS AND DEMON-DANCING
IN WEST AND NORTH AFRICA



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THE BAN OF THE BORI

Dedicated
TO
THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN OFFICERS
IN TUNIS AND TRIPOLI
AS A SLIGHT TOKEN OF THE ADMIRATION
FELT FOR THEIR WORK



The Gidan Kuri.

The Ban of the Bori

*Demons and Demon-Dancing in West
and North Africa*

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and the West Sudan," "Hausa Folk-Tales,"
"Fables and Fairy Tales," etc.*

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ILLUSTRATIONS AND 47 FIGURES IN THE TEXT



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FOREWORD

I HAD been hoping for several years to visit Tunis and Tripoli, but owing to various causes I was unable to attain the fulfilment of my desires until last February, and as just a few days before starting a Worts grant at Cambridge was approved, I set forth all the more anxious to make the most of the time. My wife went with me to Tunis and helped me, but as this book is a record of work and not of personal anecdotes, no allusion is made to ourselves except where necessary in connection with some particular statement.

We had four months in North Africa, but this would not have been anything like enough had I not already known the language, and had help on the spot not been forthcoming. I desire, therefore, to thank specially Mr Alfred Dickson, H.B.M.'s Consul at Tripoli, who lent me a room in which to question my informants, and has since replied to several questions, and Mr A. V. Liley of the North African Mission at Tunis, also for the loan of a room, and for accompanying me and taking some photographs. Just before leaving Tunis we had the good fortune to meet Miss Matthews, whom I took to the temple where she procured the autochrome from which the frontispiece has been produced, and since my return Mr W. J. W. Roome of the Sudan United Mission has sent me two photographs of the *bori* on the Benue. My director of studies when up at Cambridge, Dr A. C. Haddon, F.R.S., has been most kind in offering valuable suggestions and criticisms, and

Dr R. R. Marrett of Oxford has helped to some extent in a similar manner. I must not forget also Lieut. G. R. K. Evatt, who has again questioned some of his men in Nigeria upon points sent to him from North Africa. Most of the photographs were taken with a Newman & Guardia camera, a few are from an Ensignette, and it is because of the chemical substances in the water, and of the lack of a dark room that the results are not quite so good as I had hoped—certainly it is through no fault of the materials. These remarks apply particularly to the photograph of the sacred well and to those of the dancing at Tripoli, some of which have had to be touched up. The drawings are Miss Clarke's.

Hausa Superstitions and Customs (which dealt with the folk-lore of the people in their own country) contained a good deal about the magic and religion, and no material given there is repeated here or even referred to except where confirmation or comparison has seemed advisable, so that book and this may be considered as the complement of each other, even though they mostly deal with different parts of Africa. New rules of spelling Hausa words have been laid down lately, and I have conformed to them in this book and in *Hausa Folk-Tales*, which contains the original text. At first sight, I may seem to have wandered a little from the subject of demons, but this is not so in reality, for to understand thoroughly the beliefs of the people, one must first become acquainted with the conditions under which they live, and it is then seen that the shape of their bodies, their dress, their food, and even their most simple actions are governed by their religion. In its broadest sense, therefore, this branch of anthropology is as much concerned with the price of matches (for a fire-spirit is a necessity in their absence) as with the dimensions

of a skull, the shape of which depends to some extent upon the activities of the demons, for it must be massaged.

In the portions dealing with the belief in spirits (*bori*) I have tried to enter into the Hausas' own thoughts, or "to think black," and although some strange and apparently contradictory statements are made, I have striven not to analyse them too severely since my return here to England, but to preserve the African atmosphere and attitude of mind in which they were given me, for there is no doubt about the opinions of the Hausas. For that reason the exact words of the narrator have been given in many places. It is seldom that I have had connected descriptions of any length, however, and nearly everything had to be eked out by questioning. But anyone who has done field work will easily recognise from the arrangement that which has been given freely, and that which has come in reply to a question. The material in the body of the book is all my own except where the contrary is expressly stated, but it is impossible in a work of this kind to forbear from giving comparisons or confirmation from other authors. These I have reserved for two concluding chapters and for notes, but as footnotes spoil the sale of a book so far as the general public is concerned, the remarks have been collected together in appendices. The student, therefore, will find all that he requires, I hope, while the ordinary reader will not be bothered with arguments.

The material has been left to a great extent in the form in which it was received, and this needs a word of explanation. One might have arranged most of the spirits into definite and distinct classes according to their origin, and this appeals more to the orderly European mind, but it would have been quite contrary to the Hausa conception, for all are now equally "*bori*." Three different persons

gave me lists, and the arrangement in each was practically the same, the spirits being classed according to their position in their city of Jan Gari. Still, although the distinction between the different kinds of bori in West Africa is no longer recognised, there is a line dividing off those which have come from the north of the continent, though even here it will be seen that certain individual spirits have strayed over the boundary (*e.g.* Bebe and Wawa), because of their similarity to some on the other side—and, with the bori as with human beings, like seeks out like. There seems to be but little doubt that totemism with the Hausas was a result of the belief in bori, and that the killing of the king was in every way comparable to the sacrifice of the sacred animal.

Finally, I wish to say that every statement has been fully corroborated except where otherwise stated, my principal authorities being :—

Haj Ali (see Illustration No. 6 and others), a Hausa of Gobir who has lived in Alexandria, Tripoli, and Tunis, and has been back to the Hausa states upon more than one occasion. He is one of the heads of the Masu-Bori.

Salah (No. 5 and others), a half-Hausa, half-Arab, born in Zinder. He has revisited Nigeria. He is the chief boka (or bori medicine-man) of Tunis.

Tanko, a half-Hausa, half-Asben, now living in Tripoli.

Autu (No. 54 and others), a Hausa of Zaria, a hunter, now living in Tunis.

Abd Allah (No. 36 and others), a half-Hausa, half-Nupe, one of the drummers of the Masu-Bori, now in Tunis.

Khameis (No. 5 and others), son of Salah, one of the principal Masu-Bori of Tunis.

Mai-Nassara (No. 36 and others), one of the bori drummers of Tunis.

Hassan (No. 12), "King of the Slaves," chief of the community at Tunis.

Nassar (No. 27 and others), one of the bori musicians of Tunis.

The Chief Priestess of the principal temple at Tunis (No. 7 and others).

The Chief Priestess of the principal temple at Tripoli.

Khadeza (No. 34 and others), a priestess of the principal temple at Tunis.

Fedia or Khadejia, wife of Auta, one of the drummers for the women's dances at Tunis.

In addition to the above, a number of other people, each of whom I saw only for a short time, answered a few questions, put usually to confirm or deny something told me by the above.

Demon-dancing is not by any means a new subject, but I think that I may claim for the Hausas a much more definite and lengthy cast of characters than is found at the dances elsewhere in the world, and for myself the fullest account of such rites and their signification yet published wherever practised. Whether the idea of inoculation exists elsewhere I am unable to say, but it is so natural that I think that it will be found with further study. Readers of this book and of *Hausa Superstitions and Customs* will find much that is familiar to them if they have read accounts of European witchcraft, and the question may be asked, "Is there anything in common between the Hausa Mai-Bori and the English

witch? " Undoubtedly there is, as I hope to show in a future volume.

A. J. N. T.

BLACKHEATH, *January* 1914.

P.S.—I am now back in North Africa, where the paged proofs are being corrected, and although no additions can be made to this volume, I hope to be able to submit further material later. In the index will be found translations of Hausa words used in the text.

A. J. N. T.

TRIPOLI, *23rd April* 1914.

THE BAN OF THE BORI

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

WHEN one speaks to a Hausa, he sees only one individual, but in reality he is addressing himself to four or five beings, the number depending usually upon whether the person with whom he is conversing is married or not.

First there is the visible body which contains the soul and the life, the former being situated in the heart, the latter wandering at will all over the body. Sometimes outside of the body, sometimes in the head, is the familiar bori of the same sex, a kind of second soul, and yet in a way separate, for it acts as an intermediary between its human host and the denizens of the jinn country generally. From about puberty until marriage, most Hausas have another bori, but of the opposite sex, with which they have relations, and when a boy or girl thinks of marriage he or she must consult his or her female or male bori, for it does not like being ousted by a human rival—hence the precautions taken to protect the bride and bridegroom. Lastly, there are two angels, one hovering above the right shoulder, the other over the left, which record the good and evil thoughts of the person to whom they are attached.

The above are closely connected with the body, but there is a world of spirits also which are more or less inimical to human beings unless propitiated, or unless they

happen to be totems. These also are called bori, but they have other names, and it is evident from various signs that they are a mixture of Moslem marabouts (the Mal-lams), Semitic jinns (such as Uwal Yara), representatives of other—probably hostile—tribes (Yem Yem), pagan ancestors (*e.g.* Ba-Maguje), spirits of infants (the Little Spots), totems (the lion), nature gods both borrowed (Sarikin Rafi) and local (Kuri) and fetishes—those with a tsere, an object which they inhabit. These bori are now regarded as being responsible for the various illnesses suffered by mankind, and are propitiated accordingly by offerings and sacrifices, by the setting apart of certain rooms as temples for their use, and by being honoured with dances—or rather, rites—during which certain of the worshippers (the sect of the *Masu-Bori*) become temporarily possessed or “ridden” by the spirits. The object of these performances is comparable in a way to that of inoculation, for by inducing the disease demons to enter the dancers who are ready for them—and who, owing to their special preparations, will not suffer evil effects—they hope that the bori will leave them in peace at other times, when visits would be exceedingly inconvenient and perhaps dangerous. If for *bori* we read bacillus, we shall find that the Hausa tabus are at least as intelligible to us as are our sanitary regulations to certain alien denizens of the London slums.

The Hausa's whole existence is occupied in combating these evil influences. Before birth special means are taken to prevent an unfriendly bori obtaining possession of the baby, and directly after he has made his appearance into the world more precautions are necessary. During childhood and puberty Uwal Yara and others are almost certain to give trouble, and marriage, as we have seen, is

a particularly dangerous time, for then even the friendly bori becomes a foe. No house, and therefore no town, can be built without permission, and; in fact, the whole organisation of the community was due to the bori, for totemism and even king-killing were part of the cult. All through life, neglect or an unintentional slight to a bori will bring immediate punishment, and even if, by proper attention to the rites, the Hausa manages to escape the more serious illnesses and misfortunes, he will have to succumb at the end when claimed by the spirit of old age, Mallam Tsofo. Although, therefore, Allah is supposed to be The One God, above all, it is the bori which receive all the real attention.¹

It will be understood from the foregoing that the religion of the Hausas of North Africa is a medley, consisting of (a) what they remember of their own, taught them in their childhood, distorted, no doubt, by many years' absence; (b) what they have learned from later travellers from their own and other countries of West Africa, this already having been contaminated by local mixtures; and (c) what has been forced upon them by their contact with the Arabs and other inhabitants of North Africa, whose beliefs and customs vary in different parts of the country. It is therefore absolutely impossible to say in every case that some particular rite is practised in all the colonies of North Africa, for differences are found amongst members of the same colony, even amongst worshippers at the same temple. Thus Haj Ali was a Gobir who was taken to Alexandria, whence he proceeded to Tripoli, and is now in Tunis, married to a woman of Twat. How different are the influences to which he has been subject from those which have acted upon Fedia, a woman of Daura, married first to an Arab in Zinder, and

now to a Hausa of Zaria, but who has spent most of her life in Tunis. Yet it would be quite wrong to ignore everything which either of these two believes and does, just because one could not trace a Hausa origin. Many others are placed in similar circumstances, and there soon develops a certain average standard—a kind of common law—by which all the members of the particular community are regulated. Whatever their origin, their beliefs and customs are now “North-African-Hausa,” even if they be not “Nigerian-Hausa,” though even in the old Hausa States great differences have been noted.

Before becoming impatient with the Hausa for his confused idea of the bori, we may remember that certain of us hold that the saints are everywhere at the same time—and so every worshipper, in whatever part of the globe he may be situated, can have his supplication heard immediately—yet the saints are specially in the vicinity of churches, while the devil, some clerics would have us believe, is always hanging about outside public-houses. The Hausa holds much the same ideas, for whereas the bori are supposed to be everywhere, yet most of them are to be found in the temples (the same spirits in each), and can even be imprisoned in them, while Jato prefers a drain, and whereas we often name a church after a saint, their temples are called after a particular bori. There is a further similarity, for surely conjuring a bori to reveal some hidden treasure does not differ essentially from a request to St Anthony of Padua, say, to find something which one has lost—for in either case if the person be not successful a new patron will be approached.

There seems to be great confusion in the Hausa mind owing to the fact that the old and the new spirits and demons have been assimilated, and Islam has been imposed

upon the people, for when each clan or town had its own special spirits, it would expect particular attention from them, and this is seen in the fact that when the people of old fought, their gods assisted them—hence the warrior jinns. There is still a survival of this belief showing itself, therefore, although all the bori are now said to be omnipresent, and the Hausa can hardly be expected to abandon the idea altogether, when we remember that in a European war each nation believes that the Almighty is specially upon its own particular side. The converse is shown in the First Commandment, which we still recite, though explaining away its original meaning, and probably in Psalms xcv. 3, 7, xcvi. 4, 5, and xcvii. 7 may be gathered something of the Hausa's ideas of Allah and of His power, growing from a mere king of gods into The Only One, while the others became less and less important, until they were no longer gods but spirits, and servants of *the* God.

It is only to be expected that the religious and magical beliefs have become greatly modified through contact with the Arabs, and it is extremely difficult—as will be seen—to distinguish what has been brought from West Africa, and what has been bred locally, but where possible I have tried to do so. It is somewhat strange to find that whereas in Nigeria we have forbidden the practice of the bori rites in consideration of the Filani protests, here in North Africa (which is surely more Mohammedan) the negroes are encouraged to continue them, because their magic is acknowledged to be much more powerful than of the pure and undefiled True-Believers. In fact, in Tunis, one of the cousins of the Bey has a private bori temple, and in Tripoli several members of the Karamanli encouraged the rites. And in saying this it must

not be thought that I wish to belittle them for it in any way. Quite to the contrary, for they were good enough to help me, and I certainly enjoyed the performances. All I wish to suggest is that we may have been a little too ready to listen to the Mohammedans in our West African possessions. More than that, while prohibiting all kinds of heathen magic, we put no ban upon Koranic charms, thus driving the pagans to Islam, for the native (like the European) will have an amulet or mascot of some kind, and he must appease the evil spirits.

Not all of even the Hausas are Mohammedans as yet, some, known as the *Magazawa* (in the singular, *Ba-Maguje*, possibly from *Majusun*, and meaning fire-worshipper),² still indulge in pagan rites. Some say that the *Magazawa* were once Mohammedans, and that they recanted, but it is more likely that they were never converted—though it is quite possible that they pretended to embrace the faith during the Filani conquest, so as to save themselves from extermination. At any rate, the belief of the Hausas of North Africa in the superior efficacy of their home-made charms and spells is very strongly implanted, and, as has been said, the Arabs are of the same opinion.

It is time to bring these preliminary remarks to a close, but I hope that I have been able to state the general idea as clearly as—or, rather, no less vaguely than—it was expressed to me. We must now descend from the abstract to the concrete, and, by following the Hausa through his daily life, see how real a thing to him is the ban of the bori.³

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN OF THE HAUSA COLONIES IN NORTH AFRICA

ALL over North Africa are to be found colonies of West Africans, living their lives more or less apart, and speaking their own languages. They are apart in a metaphorical sense—one can be very lonely in a strange gay city—for they have never been allowed to intermarry with the Arabs, although they are forced to live in their houses. Most of them were taken in slavery some thirty to fifty years ago, and although no longer slaves, they have no status. Speaking generally, they are not allowed to congregate and build houses of their own pattern, the round hut for which their hearts yearn, but must rent rooms from their former masters. It is no wonder, therefore, that they are downtrodden and suspicious, and that their pleasures are characterised more by fanaticism than by the childish light-heartedness shown in their old country. All are steeped in magic, and no event happens to them which has not been caused by a spirit in answer to their own prayer or to that of an enemy.

Many of these negroes—including the Hausas with whom I am concerned—have been brought from our own protectorates, and they are intensely proud of what they regard as their British citizenship. It would be of no use to tell them that they are not British subjects at all, since, owing to political convenience and legal technicality, Northern Nigeria is not a part of the King's dominions. They are never tired of asserting that they are "Inglesi," for

they do not care very much for the French, and they fear the Italians, being strangers, although, really, they have no reason to complain of the European conquerors in either country. They were continually inquiring if I had come to take them home, for they are still sojourners in a strange land, and I could not help feeling that to repatriate them would be an act worthy of a great empire. We have always been solicitous of the welfare of African natives in the Congo and elsewhere. Can we not remember that charity begins at home? Of course there are no atrocities to be exposed in Tunis, nor even in Tripoli, but the sentence of banishment from everything dear to them naturally causes the Hausas suffering. Great Britain has an honoured name even now in North Africa, but an act such as this would raise it far above that of any other throughout the world. The Mohammedans would care but little, for the people are no longer their slaves. Surely we can make an effort. I do not think that either the French or the Italians would object, because their own labouring classes can do all the work which now falls to the Hausas. One or two ships might be sufficient—and we have so many!

The origin of the Hausa colonies in North Africa, therefore, is mainly due to the Arab slave-raiders, but a few of the people have come voluntarily, either on a trading expedition or on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Some reached the Holy City, some never got farther than where they are now, while many merchants, after a successful deal, were robbed of all their possessions. Some of the women have borne children to their Arab masters (though no Hausa man could marry an Arab woman), so the colonies have become somewhat mixed, and all the members speak Arabic. Indeed, while some of the older people have

forgotten their mother-tongue, many of the children have never been taught it, though I was much interested to find that a certain old rule of grammar (the feminine in *a*) was much more strictly observed in North Africa than in Nigeria, where there has been a development—a parallel, I suppose, to the French spoken in Canada.

Perhaps it was natural that the Hausas should desire to make out that they were really no strangers to the soil (we know how the Italians emphasise the existence of the Roman remains in Tripoli), so those of Tunis traced their origin from there, though they conceded a little to the popular theory in allowing that the route taken was via the Fezzan. From Carthage to Kano, therefore, was their march, according to them, long before the movement in the contrary direction set in. But it might be as well to start from the beginning, and give their explanation of the appearance of man upon earth.

One informant told me that at first the world was smoke,¹ and that when it had settled down, Allah created animals, fishes, birds, and men; there were no bori then. But certain of the people were bad-tempered and did ill, and because of this, Allah turned some into evil spirits, the *aljannu* or bori—which although like men are not human beings, and cannot be seen when in the cities of men—others into *ayu* (manattee), which are half-fish and half-man, but have to live in the water. Some of the pagan spirits were supposed to be deceased ancestors who had died as men—one cannot say a “natural death,” because there is no such thing, according to native ideas. Apparently the bori were condemned to remain for ever in the state in which they then were (or more probably the state in which they were when the fusion of the cults took place) for, as is pointed out in Chapter XVIII., except in their

city of Jan Gari, the old ones do not die, and the young ones never grow up. Now, Allah is high above all ; below Him, in the seven layers of heaven, are the angels. Men are upon earth, and in some confused way the bori are supposed to be below them in the seven layers of earth down to the internal sea. Yet the bori are also above the earth, and are confounded with the angels, for they are supposed to execute the commands of Allah—the belief in angels is still too new to the Hausa to be fixed definitely. The souls are upon the earth in the Well of Life, “ far, far away in the City of The South.”

Allah first created Adam and Eve, according to another man, and they brought forth two white children, a boy and a girl. One day while Adam was sleeping, a certain part of his anatomy became exposed to view, and this amused the son, who began to laugh. Adam woke up, and was so angry that he cursed his son, and on his asking Allah to turn him black, the boy's colour immediately began to change. But just then an angel flew up, and, having scolded Adam for doing this, he told the son to run to a lake near by, and to wash himself at once. Adam's curse could not be recalled, however,² for when the son arrived at the lake, he found that all the water had dried up. He put his hand on the bed of the lake to get some water, and there was just enough to wet his palms (that is why they are white to this day), so, finding none with which to wash his face, he ran on to a deeper part. But again he was too late, for he could procure no water, only his feet became a little damp. He returned to his father's home and remained there, later on marrying his sister, and of their offspring some were white and some black, and so the people of the world became divided.

The latter is evidently a corrupt version of the story in

Genesis (ix. 22-25) of Noah and his son, and Noah comes further into the legend, for he is supposed to have landed upon a saddled-backed mountain near the city of Tunis. It was even said that the large anchors kept in one of the mosques at Kairuan came from the Ark. But this does not seem to be a general belief. In Tripoli and in Nigeria, in fact, I was told that the Ark grounded actually in Bornu. At any rate, Noah eventually went south to Kuka, and there married some of the local negresses, giving rise to the Kanuri and also to the Hausas. As has been stated in *The Niger and the West Sudan* (where the question of origin is argued fully), the name "Bornu" is said to have come from the words *Bahar* and *Nuhu*, "the Sea of Noah"—i.e. Lake Chad,³ and Bello, Sultan of Sokoto, wishing to deride the Hausas whom his people, the Filani, had conquered, ascribed their origin to a slave from Bornu. He excepted the Gobirawa, however, maintaining that they were descended from the Copts of Egypt. One man, Tanko, an Asben, said that the Hausas originated in Gwanja, the centre of the kola-nut cultivation, and that it was through the trade in these nuts that the Hausas spread in all directions. I had not heard of this idea before, and it is certainly not generally held by the Hausas themselves.

With Tunis, therefore, as well as with Tripoli and Alexandria, the Hausas consider that they have some connection, although this does not prevent them from longing to return to their own country. Those of us who have spent some of our years abroad—even voluntarily—can surely understand this feeling!

CHAPTER III

TOTEMISM AND KING-KILLING

THE Hausas of Tunis and Tripoli, although scattered in houses belonging to people of another race, are banded together by two bonds. They elect chiefs amongst themselves who will apportion the available work (building, etc.) amongst them, and they have bori (spirit) houses or temples with regularly appointed priestesses, the members of which form distinct communities. Neither the chief nor the chief priestess need always be a Hausa, but both will be West Africans, and the woman must be able to speak the language, for she has to direct the performances, but not even this is necessary in the case of the chief, the one at Sfax being able to talk nothing but Arabic. Neither office is hereditary, for special qualifications are required; the man must be honest and possessed of good judgment, the woman must have the virtue of continency—and will almost certainly be a widow or an ancient divorcée. Birth, therefore, has nothing to do with the selection of the person to fill either office.

The organisation of the modern Hausa state is described in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*,¹ so it is unnecessary to go into the subject at length here. Suffice it to say that every profession in every town (even that of thieving) and every tiny village has its head with his train of retainers, and these are subject to a chief and suite of a larger town, who again is under the great man of the whole district, the latter being responsible to the Sultan.

Between the people of certain districts there is what is



2.—Tunisian Fashions.

3.—Nigerian Fashions.

called a *wasa* (game)—*i.e.* an understanding that they may behave to each other as if they were members of the same family. Haj Ali of Gobir and Auta of Zaria had such a *wasa* between them, because long ago, when the Hausa states were first formed, the King of Gobir came to Zaria with the intention of attacking the city, although the people were of the same stock. Now, although the ancestor, Zaria, is said to have been a male, the people are known as *Zazaga*, and by a special meaning, females. So when the Gobirawa arrived, the King of Zaria, feeling unequal to the contest, ordered his people to bring calabashes, mortars, and other female domestic implements, and all marched out to the enemy's camp. The King of Gobir was very much surprised, naturally, and asked why they had come to meet him with household utensils instead of with weapons, as men ought to have done; they were no better than a lot of women. The King of Zaria replied: "We are only women, and your sisters, so we have come to welcome the warriors." The King of Gobir was ashamed, and since that day there has been a truce between the two countries, an *entente* which is observed wherever the people happen to be. Owing to this, should Haj Ali put on a new garment, or his old one inside out, Auta can claim a present, and vice versa. But this is not all. One must pay something to the other on his marriage, before he may consummate it, again at the birth of a child, and if the other finds the child running about in the streets. Lastly, at death, a present of flour must be given before the body may be buried. Should the fee not be paid, the claimant may keep property of the defaulter and, apparently, if the latter were so lost to decency as to appeal to the authorities, he would lose his suit—or the relatives would in the last case.

The organisation of the bori communities in North Africa is best described in the chapters on spirits ; they are composed of people from different parts of Nigeria or neighbouring countries, and they do not depend upon totemism in any way, in fact the bond of the *kan-gida* (" head of the house ") is hardly recognised nowadays.

The amount of information obtainable upon the subject of totemism was very small, unfortunately, for the older Hausas seem to have forgotten their totems, and the younger ones never knew them, but the following scraps were elicited, most being from Haj Ali and Salah, though Auta is responsible for the first two paragraphs.

The members of a clan regarded the totem as sacred ; they did not kill it upon ordinary occasions, and they were supposed never to eat it. But each year at harvest-time—before the crops had been gathered in—the totem (always a beast, reptile, fish, bird, or plant, never an inanimate object) was killed by the chief men of the clan. The flesh was buried with the skeleton, but all the members of the clan smeared a little of the blood upon their faces, and the head was dried in the sun, and then kept in the hut of the chief until the next harvest season, when it was replaced by a new skull.² Every person had to wash his or her body at least three days in advance, and to be continent from that time until a day or two after the conclusion of the rites. If a member had killed the totem at any other time by accident, he would not have been punished ; if he had eaten of it, however, even unknowingly, he would have become ill ; and if he had killed it intentionally he would certainly have died, the punishment being meted out perhaps by the familiar bori of the animal itself (see p. 382).

The totem was a brother. Children inherited those of

their fathers, women retaining these on marriage. No person had more than one totem, and the sexes had not different ones. A man might marry a woman with the same or with a different totem, according to Auta, and this is in accordance with what has been found in Nigeria amongst the Magazawa of to-day.

Haj Ali (a Ba-Maguje, converted to Mohammedanism after having been taken in slavery to Egypt) told me that a woman would still continue to sacrifice to her father's (and, therefore, still her own) totem after marriage; she would give her husband the choice of allowing her to sacrifice near the house, or else of giving her leave to go home to join in the rites with her father, and the former would almost certainly be the husband's choice.

He says that not every totem was killed, and that in any case it would not be put to death each year.³ A child took the totem of his father, but a man would sacrifice to his mother's totem occasionally so that the *bokas* (medicine-men) of her clan should not become angry with him. Haj Ali's father's totem was the *shamowa* (the red-legged horn-bill), and, because it was accustomed to rest in the *kiriya*, that tree was also sacred, and was in some way connected with the bird. Tree-totems were not cut down. One knew when they had lost their virtue, for they withered and gradually died, and on the first sign of this they were deserted, others being substituted for them.

When a sacrifice was offered to the *shamowa* and *kiriya*, the rites were as follows. Two new cloths, one black and one white, were wrapped around the trunk of the tree. Millet (guinea-corn) was ground from early morning, and at noon the flour thus produced was, by mixing it with water, made into *fura*, and drunk. Then a black bull was killed, if available, or a black he-goat, and some of the

blood was smeared upon the trunk, the rest being led by a channel into the roots of the tree ; but there was no divination from the entrails. The flesh was eaten, the head was buried. The chief (who was also chief priest) and four other priests donned the hide in turn,⁴ and they and the other worshippers danced round the tree (all the people were there, men, women and children) and the flesh was eaten. On the fourth day another bull was sacrificed, and on the seventh day, at midnight, a he-goat, every part of this except the flesh being buried in the hole already made for the blood of the bull. The worshippers then washed their hands over the hole. Early next morning the hole was closed up, and the people went home, taking care not to look back until they had arrived at their town. When they had reached the gate, they performed a symbolic washing of hands and face, and threw their hands towards the place of sacrifice (just as is done when trying to cast off the evil eye), and they entered the town, the ceremonies being then at an end. This washing was to prevent any contamination entering the town, as, apparently, it would have been very dangerous there though not outside. "Magical influence must not be brought to the house." After the worshippers had gone, the shamowa would alight upon the ground, and drink some of the blood. Haj Ali (in contradistinction to his first statement) and Salah both said that a young bird was taken from his nest and killed each year.

Each Thursday night it was necessary to pour fresh milk on the ground at the foot of a pole erected by the door, the *jigo*, to represent the *kiriya*,⁵ but the blood offering took place only once a year.

Haj Ali's mother's totem was another tree, the *faru*, and being a Mai-Bori, he had to sacrifice also to the *tsamiya* or

tamarind. Even supposing he was cold and starving, he would not cut any of these trees, nor would he eat any food which had been cooked by a fire made with the logs of any of them. If he were travelling along and came upon these three trees, he would sacrifice to all if possible, but if he had only one fowl, he would kill it at the foot of the *kiriya*, that being connected with his father's totem ; if he had another fowl, he would offer it up by the *faru*, for the totem of his mother would take precedence of that of his calling.

As the *shamowa* has red legs, none of the unmarried youths or girls might stain their hands or feet with henna. If anyone had broken this tabu he would have sickened and died for the *uwar-gida* (mother of the house) or *kan-gida* (head of the house) would naturally have been angry at young persons trying to dress like her. Men also might not adorn their eyes with antimony until after marriage. Another informant, Salah, says that the prohibition lasted only while the *shamowa* was at home—it migrates yearly.

According to Haj Ali's account, the practices of king-killing and the sacrifice of the totem seem to have been connected. In the Lion, Leopard, and kindred clans, the totem animal was controlled by the priest-chief, or, as Professor Frazer calls him, the priestly king (known as "the Lion of the Town" or otherwise, according to the particular totem) and four other priests. Why the animal was first adopted is not now known, but the following was the procedure for securing a new representative animal in Haj Ali's time, according to him.

When the people had seen that the totem was becoming powerless, or was allowing—perhaps even helping—some other town to become more prosperous than those actually worshipping the animal, the five priests would

burn incense one night, and the totem would at once appear and lie down in the place appointed. The chief would then lay his complaint, and the lion would nod or shake his head according as he admitted or denied the accusations. If there was no actual proof, the lion might be warned and allowed to go again on promising to take more care of his brethren, but if one of the five could say that he had seen the animal actually helping one of the other people, or actually refusing to aid one of his own people, the charge was held proved. Then the priestly king would say to the lion: "We have found you out, you have been a traitor to us, and we are going to kill you." The lion would not struggle, for it would know that it was in the wrong, and the chief would catch hold of its mane and pull back its head, and one of the other four men would cut its throat. The body would then be cut open, and the liver, entrails, heart, and kidneys examined, and it would be found that some parts or all of these were black, thus proving that the animal had really been false to his followers. The skull and skin of the beast would be taken to the *gidan tsafi* (medicine-house), and left there until the next lion was killed, but no other part of his body would be used afterwards, all would be burned, for medicine made with it would certainly fail. A new animal would then be summoned, and would be appointed totem, and shown how to recognise his followers.

If the priestly king had held his position for two years, and everything was going on well with the community, he might be allowed to remain in office for another year, but probably the other four would decide that his power was waning, and that a new man was required for the good of the town—though the chief would not necessarily be told this. The lion would be summoned, therefore, in the same

manner as before, but upon his arrival one of the four priests would stand forth and accuse the chief. The lion would at first shake his head, for the chief was his brother, but on proof being adduced as before, he would nod and admit the truth of the charge. The accuser would then say to the lion: "Very well, now you must kill him." The lion would at first refuse, but the man would say: "Either you must kill him or we will kill you, because if you do not wish to do so, it will show that you are both guilty," and then the lion would spring upon the chief, and kill him with a blow of his paw. He would not eat him, but directly he had killed him, he would rip open his body and then retire to his former position. The four men would then examine the entrails as before, and if there was any black it was known that the priestly king had been guilty, but if not, then it was seen that the charge was a false one, and the accuser would be put to death.

In either case, the entrails were taken to the medicine-house in a small gourd, and left there for seven days. That night the lion would come and roar, and the new priestly king would hear and come out and take the lion to the medicine-hut, and the animal would examine the entrails. If he saw that they were of no use for protection, he would tell the new chief so, and then they would be thrown away, and everything belonging to the late chief would be burnt so as to thoroughly remove the evil influence; but if he said that they were good, the skull would be split open with a sharp hatchet, and the brains extracted, the skull being burned. If by then there were many maggots in the brains, they would be buried at once, but if only a few, the brains would be replaced in the gidan tsafi for fifteen days, and then rinsed with water, and buried in a deep hole, together with the vessel containing

them. If there were no maggots at all, the brains would be dried and ground to powder, and sprinkled upon the floor of the hut. It is quite possible that it was sent around to the heads of families at one time so as to spread the *albaraka*, albinos were eaten before a war, it will be remembered.⁶

The killing of the king has been sufficiently vouched for in Nigeria.⁷ In some of the north-western districts the dead king was wrapped in the hide of a bull while the successor was smeared with its blood, and perhaps had to step over the corpse, these customs reminding one strongly of the king-killing in Egypt and elsewhere. It is interesting to note that amongst the Shilluk, the king's wives would inform him of his imminent fate by spreading a piece of cloth over his face and knees as he lay sleeping in the afternoon,⁸ for it may be that the dance of the House Doguwa—which symbolises death—is connected with such a practice. Perhaps the dead king (or, at any rate, his brain) was eaten by his successor originally—in North Africa the sacrificer had to eat his victim at one time—and the bull was substituted when this idea became too abhorrent. The story of why the young giant lost his strength (H.S.C., No. 99) resembles that of Tammuz and Ishtar, and it may be that this is only another version of the legend of the Dying God. The eating or the stepping over would be for the purpose of passing on the divine influence to the new ruler. This is a very old idea, and it still exists not only in Africa but even in England, for not many years ago, the infant son of a dying clergyman (a connection of my own) was held to his father's lips in order to receive his last breath. The son has since been to Cambridge and is now in Holy Orders.

The death of the priestly king made a vacancy in the

priesthood, but this was easily filled, since all men were anxious for the post. The others made the candidate swear that he would act in concert with them, that he would never divulge their secrets, etc., and then he was put to the test, and, if successful, admitted. Apparently, however, he had to be a relative of the deceased, for only a member of the same family could become chief. Still, it may not have been necessary for every candidate to the priesthood to be related, for no one would have succeeded merely by seniority. A vacancy might occur also because the eldest of the four priests had become too old for his work, and wished to retire. In either case, the initiation was the same. Should it happen that there was no pupil to step into the vacancy, some person was selected by the four and the chief, and told that he was eligible for the position. A certain medicine was then prepared, and four days later, when it was ready, the candidate would enter the gidan tsafi. He stayed there seven days, drinking the medicine, and at the end of that time he was ready for the first test, which was to face an aljan which appeared to him without a head.⁹ If he quaked at all, he was returned to the gidan tsafi for another seven days' drinking. At the end of that time he was again tried, but on this occasion the tests were more severe. First there would come a headless horse, and if the initiate showed no fear, the headless aljan would reappear. If still there was no shrinking, a donkey with no head or tail, and only three legs, would rush at him. If still the candidate was brave, a snake would come and open its mouth at him, and, if this test also was passed, a horseman would charge at him, and make as if to cut him down with his sword. This was the last trial of his fortitude, and if successful in it, the initiate was taken by the priests and washed in a large

calabash, the chief and the others pouring the medicine upon his head. Two of the four priests then held a hand each, while the others tied a leather skin in front, and then one behind, then a skin upon the left shoulder, then one upon the right, and a white cap with a gusset of sheep's wool was placed upon his head.¹⁰ The totem lion would have been summoned to the washing, and when that rite had been finished, the newly appointed priest would be shown to him.

The four priests (or five, if one had retired because aged) and the chief would then return to the gidan tsafi, and the initiate would take a small ladle and dip it into one of four large jars of medicine which were kept there. He would hold it up, and pour the medicine back into the jar, continuing this until froth had appeared, and when this had come, he would drink a little, following the same procedure at each of the other jars. He would then give a little out of each to the ex-priest and to the other three, and the ceremony would be ended, but he would shortly have to give a feast to all the heads of families in the clan. If everything went on well, the ex-priest would be left in peace, but he would be forced to attend the ceremonies (though he took no part in them) so as to make sure that he was not working against his late colleagues. But if things went ill, it would be evident that he was false, and he would be put to death by the lion in the manner before described.

In any year in which no sacrifice either of the animal or of the priestly king took place, an offering would be made to the totem. It would be summoned in the usual way, and would come and squat in its appointed place, but this time all the people of the community would be present. At first the beast might be inclined to be fierce,

but the priestly king would talk to it, and tell it that none but relatives were present, and soon the beast would become quiet. Then the four priests would bring a bull and make it stand by the medicine-hut, and feed it with millet, honey, beans, and rice in a spoon. It would then be made to kneel down, and its throat would be cut. It would be skinned at once, the chief man of the four taking the hide, and its entrails, heart, liver, and kidneys would be removed. A portion of each would be cut off and given to the lion, and when he had eaten them, the people would rejoice and say that the animal was certainly their totem. Another portion of each would be given to the five priests, who would cause a woman to roast them, and they would eat a little, and give the rest to the important persons around them. The rest of the entrails, etc., would be cooked and given to the women and children afterwards. The flesh would be hung up in the medicine-hut for that night, but next day it would be cut up, small pieces of it being sent to all the members of the clan.¹¹ They were always very glad to receive it, for it was their *albaraka* (blessing, power—*i.e.* white magic); they did not value it on account of its being food, for perhaps there was hardly anything for them to eat.

Not every animal was a totem and a brother. If a member of one of these clans, say that of the leopard, had been attacked and wounded while in the forest by an animal of the same kind as his totem, he would complain to his chief upon his return, and the totem would be summoned. The chief would repeat the charge, and, if it was shown that the totem himself had been false or careless, it would be put to death as already described, but, if it were innocent, it would select a certain root, and give it to the chief, telling him that the person wounded

was to pound it up in a mortar, mix it with water in a gourd, and that he was to drink some of it, and daub his body with the rest. The leopard would then go away, and next day the complainant would do as directed, and would then go to the place where the attack had been made. Soon the guilty leopard would arrive, summoned and rendered harmless by the charm, and the man would tie him up and lead him to a spot which had been indicated by the totem. There the latter would take charge of the offender, and would ask him why the attack had been made upon one of the totem's brothers. The prisoner would reply that it did not know who his victim was, and then the other would tell it never to do such a thing again, and release him, perhaps after some punishment, but if the man had been killed, the totem leopard would put the offending animal to death.

CHAPTER IV

TOTEMISM AND KING-KILLING—*continued*

THE information contained in the preceding chapter is practically in the words of the narrators, and it seemed so extremely unlikely that I dropped the subject for the time, and sent my notes to Professor J. G. Frazer, who very kindly made some remarks which encouraged me to proceed, especially as in the meantime I had ascertained that Haj Ali's information upon other subjects was quite trustworthy, and further inquiry has corroborated practically the whole of it. After all, it only corresponds with what has been found on the other side of the continent, though this fact was not then known to me.¹ I re-examined him, therefore, and with the further answers from him, and information gathered from other sources, we may proceed to examine what has been said. But first it will probably clear the atmosphere if it be noted that others have discovered that with one clan at any rate (the Geawaskawa of Katsina), the soul of the totem is supposed to be indwelling in their chief, and that a story given elsewhere shows that the chief may have the soul of the clan (*Mafari*) in his keeping. This latter is probably the soul of the first king, for amongst the Shilluk "the spirits of Nyakang [the divine ancestor] and his successors are considered as identical," and this is only what we should expect when the divine ancestor is an animal, a totem.² With many peoples, the chief is regarded as being a son of the god. However, it will be well to state

at once the view of totemism held by Salah, the principal boka in Tunis.

The introduction of the totem, according to him, is due to the belief in spirits. To invoke or appease these, magic rites were performed, and gradually particular bori were thought to take a special interest in a certain individual or family, or even in a town. It was evident to the Ba-Maguje that, if when he invoked one particular spirit, he was always more fortunate than when he sought the aid of others, that spirit had a special interest in him. Many of the bori appeared in animal forms—particularly those of snakes and wild beasts—and some of the less harmful members of the kingdom (*e.g.* lizards) were almost members of the man's family, while certain trees were noted for the attraction which they had for the bori, so it became the custom to identify an animal or a tree with the spirit invoked. The same thing is noticeable in totemism, for to Haj Ali not only the shamowa, but also the tree in which it rests, is sacred, and, in fact, the title *kan-gida* is used both for the patron bori and for the totem, so it is not surprising to find that in former times the instruction in the duties due to the totem and the initiation into the mysteries of the bori cult were simultaneous—at the *Fittan Fura*. Gradually, however, the connection was lost, and to-day a person may have a bori as well as a totem for his *kan-gida*, or even a bori only. According to all whom I have asked here, totemism had nothing whatever to do with marriage, and this is only to be expected, for whereas some clans were exogamous, others were endogamous.³

There was evidently a great difference in the practices in vogue in different parts of the country regarding the killing of the totem, and it may be that those animals which were killed every year were offerings made in the

hope of getting a good harvest, for Haj Ali says that all these clans which worshipped Magiro (a corn spirit) sacrificed at harvest-time, and in Chapter XIV. it will be seen that a part of the crop is always preserved until the next has been gathered in. Another observer (in *Man*, 1910, Art. 40) has stated that the clan of *Kai Na Fara* sacrifice their totem, a crippled fowl, "on very special occasions once a year," but unfortunately he does not state what those occasions are. He also says that the Mahalbawa think that they are descended from the *kwakiya* (a short black snake), and that any member of the clan who put one to death would die. Again, any animal killed by a *kwakiya* must not be eaten by a member of the clan.

Salah's totem was a *Baban Dammo* (iguana), and it also was killed annually, after having been summoned as above. The followers smeared blood three times upon their foreheads (the seat of the bori, as is explained later) and upon their tongues (so as to give them a good voice when the spirit took possession of them). The priests then returned home, and slept in the gidan tsafi, and next morning the flesh was cut into small pieces and divided up, some being made into *laiyu* or charms, the rest being dried and powdered, the latter being a powerful medicine for anyone who had previously had the albaraka.⁴ A bori performance was held a few days afterwards, and the rites were over. These people were Hausa of the earliest Katsina stock, so it is possible that the smearing of the blood was performed only by the original Hausa communities, and was not adopted by those of later growth, for the smearing at the present bori rites may not be a survival from West Africa, but a reintroduction from the North. Many totems were never sacrificed at all, and Salah says that the lion, leopard, etc., were never killed

so long as they did no harm, but that when a guilty animal had to be put to death, the priestly king killed it with a poisoned arrow. The ceremony may quite well have been biennial or triennial, however, for the Dasawa Hausas of Katsina sacrifice to Kuri and Uwardawa at intervals of three years.⁵

The account of the killing of the lion, leopard, etc., is very strange, yet there seems to be some truth in it, though the alleged interviews and conversations between man and beast are clearly fabulous. Yet Haj Ali certainly seemed to believe what he said, and I fancy that, as in the bori dance, hallucinations can be induced by those interested. When asked to state in the name of *Aradu* (Thunder) whether he had ever actually seen a lion or other beast thus put to death, he admitted that he had not done so, but that he *had* seen a priest killed by a lion at three different towns which he named, when he was between seventeen and nineteen years of age. In each case the beast had torn the victim open, and had then left him. In another town, Kworen Habjia, where the buffalo was the totem, one of these animals was seen one day wandering about near the village. "Incense was offered up, and the buffalo approached. The four men assembled together with the Buffalo-of-the-Town (the priestly king)—he had very large testicles⁶—and they said that he had been playing false. He replied, 'You cannot hurt me (even if I have done so).' Then they placed the censer at the Eastern gate, and the buffalo approached, they prevented the people shooting it. The buffalo entered and bounded forward, and gored him, and pierced him on one side until the horn protruded at the other. Then she lifted him up—I can see it now, I swear by Allah—and threw him upon the ground. Then she returned, and threw him again,

and then went away. In a little while his life ebbed out, and they appointed another in his stead."

That is much more easy to believe, and it is quite possible that the "guilty" priest was always tied up and left for the totem to kill, the animal when carnivorous being driven off by fire before it could have time to eat its victim. Or, the priests may have acted as do the members of the notorious Leopard Society in other parts of West Africa, and have killed their victims by mauling them with the claws of the kind of animal concerned.⁷ If the killing of the lion, etc., was not mere hallucination, and the other suggestion is incorrect, it is possible that the beast was caught and drugged first—in fact, meat may be left for the totem. That, however, is simply a guess on my own part, and I must give the Hausa view.

Salah's totem was an iguana. When it was desired to consult the totem, incense was burned at nights at the foot of some specially sacred tree, and sooner or later the reptile would appear. "The totem must appear when summoned thus, for incense attracts the bori, and they drive the animal to the spot required"—showing that there is still a connection between the bori and the totem animal. If there had been trouble in the clan, and the lizard was long in coming, it was evident that it had been playing false. On the first occasion it might be merely warned and let go, but on the second, it would probably be caught and taken to the *dakin tsafi*, and tied up there and censed. If things improved, the animal would be set free again in the hope that after such a lesson it would see the error of its ways, but if not, it would be killed, and a new one would be substituted. The priests could talk to animals because they had drunk the appropriate medicines, I was told. Every totem knows its own incense, accord-

ing to Haj Ali, for different herbs are used for the different animals, and "all totems understand the language of their followers. Do not even dogs and fowls understand when you call them?"

As for the connection between the shamowa and the kiriya, it has already been noted in Northern Nigeria that an animal and a plant totem may be followed by the same clan, thus the Dubawa of Katsina have a lion, a kirni tree, and a shiruwa (hawk); the Rungumawa of Katsina have a kwakiya snake and a tamarind; while, stranger still, the Berawa of Katsina, whose totem is a lion, have yet some connection with the baobab.⁸

In spite of the fact that the priestly king may lose his life, there is no lack of candidates for the office. He would be safe for some years at least, even though—as one man informed me—the chief in Gobir was invariably killed after two or three years of office. All my informants agreed that they would be candidates under such conditions. "If you asked me to be Bey of Tunis to-day on the condition that I should be killed to-morrow, I should refuse, for I could not enjoy myself. But if you said for ten days, plenty of people would offer. Everybody likes power and wealth, so one must get all he can while it is possible. Besides, everyone must die some time—but he might manage to live longer than the ten days." Intrigue being inborn in the Hausa's nature, the last remark explains a good deal, perhaps, but at the same time, there is no doubt that the native regards death with much less horror than does the European. And many pagans in Northern Nigeria⁹ believe that the stronger and richer a man is upon earth, the better will be his position in the next world. To die while in health and strength, therefore, would seem to be rather a wise provision for the hereafter than a source

of sorrow for the present. But, after all, even in Great Britain to-day persons give themselves up to the police, and though perfectly innocent, claim to have committed murders in order to gain notoriety, and—one must presume—induce a feeling of self-exaltation.

The dance of the king and priests around the sacred tree is interesting. One informant said that only the priestly king wore the hide, but Haj Ali maintained that all did so in order to obtain the albaraka. It was first dried in the sand, and after the chief and the three senior priests had worn it, the fourth (called Dan Wawa, Fool, although he was not really silly) ¹⁰ put it on, and danced foolishly before the people at some distance from the tree so as to distract their attention from the other four men who were performing some secret rites at the foot of the tree—one being to place medicines amongst the roots. These four also burned some herbs upon a fire, and by watching the smoke could foretell the fortunes of the clan. These seems to have been no idea that the priests dressed in the skin so as to resemble kinsmen of the victim, they did it in order to obtain the sacred virtue of its life, the albaraka.

The offering to the snake totems consists of eggs and milk—the appropriate one now to the bori named Mai-Ja-Chikki, as will be seen later. The proper place to put it is upon an ant-heap or by a hollow tree, and incense should be burned at the same time. “If the totem likes you it will come out, and you can then make your supplication.” It was not killed in Daura (this has been observed in Nigeria also), but if unfaithful, the priests will bring a larger snake to drive it away. In Gobir, however, it was killed. There are several species which are worshipped, and the practices differ slightly, but the following was said

to be the procedure in Daura. In addition to the ordinary offering, each year a black bull or he-goat was killed, the blood was spilt upon the ground for the snake, while the meat was cut up and eaten by the worshippers present on the spot; no part was ever brought into the house. If any head of a family could not be there, his son, wife, or daughter would eat his share for him, so that he would not lose the albaraka. Then the priestly king or a priestess would dance around with the skin still wet with blood. I am told that the iguana was killed annually at Magammi in Maradi.

Snakes are—theoretically—by no means regarded as enemies. It may be remembered that in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, one story (No. 80) relates how one of these reptiles, which had previously saved a youth's life, bit him because its weekly offering—which ought to have been placed upon an ant-hill—was not forthcoming, and this probably refers to the practice mentioned above. Some snakes indeed become very friendly. Thus the kwakiya may take up its abode in the grass roof of the living hut, and from time to time descend to the floor—it will always do so in honour of the birth of a son—and for that reason a pinch of meal is thrown down by the people before eating.

It would seem from the case of the shamowa that some tabus originate through a fear that the worshippers may appear to be too much like the totem, and so enrage it, and another instance strengthens this view—namely, that members of snake and iguana clans generally were not allowed to wear clothes of the peculiar speckled pattern called *sake*, not, at any rate, until adult. In fact, some members of the latter clan could not eat beans before the proper rites had been performed because the iguana ate

them. Other tabus are harder to understand, such as not carrying fire in a calabash (gourd) but only in an earthenware pot (the *Kai na Fara*), or, again, refusing to use a pot for fire, and carrying it only between two sticks (the *Dubawa*). The tabu observed by the former against eating food if iron has touched it is rather more comprehensible, because the bori abhor that metal (see p. 289), and totemism is said to have originated from the belief in the spirits.

It will be found that nearly all the totem animals are represented in the bori dances, and although the plant totems do not figure there as such, it is quite possible that they are intimately connected with their special animals, as Salah says.¹¹ Certain bori have the names of trees, as will be seen, but they come to the dance because they are disease-spirits, apparently, not because they are plant-totems. People may become ill through having sat under certain trees, but it seems that the illness is caused by the spirits in the trees, not by the trees themselves, though, as a story of "conceptional totemism" shows, a tree may contain and identify itself in every way with a human being if a leaf has caused the mother to conceive, just as the body and soul of a man form a complete individual—for the soul can leave the body at night as easily as the man can leave his tree. In another story, a tree grows from the head of a man buried in a well, and the man is afterwards taken from the branches of the tree (which has grown up above the surface of the ground), and, after having been shaved, is able to return to his old life.¹² To some extent the Hausa dancer (or "horse") is one with the spirit which "rides" him during possession, for the spirit is supposed to be speaking, and the dancer is not considered to be responsible for his actions. "Is

it likely that a person would hurt himself if he could avoid it ? ”

Still, one must not try to press the analogy too far at present, for in the Hausa bori dance of to-day there seems to be nothing of animatism, and even in the case of the tree spirits, each dancer illustrates the effects of the seizure, not the movements of a branch, though it must be admitted that it would be somewhat difficult for him to behave like a tree.

From the foregoing, it will have been seen that the reasons for the killing of the king are the same as for the killing of the totem—namely, the continuance of the health and prosperity of the clan, and the more scientific explanations of the phenomena are no less similar, so it is evident that the two are connected, and that both have arisen through a belief in spirits.

The points in common seem to be as follows ¹³ :—

(1) The guardian spirit or the bori of the clan appears as an animal, and becomes the totem.

(2) The bori begins to appear in other forms, yet leaving some of its virtues with the animal, and so both bori and totem are *kan-gida*—possibly the tree-totems are now developed because of their connection with either the bori or the animal.

(3) The bori is thought to be not quite content with its animal habitation, and, in order to persuade it to appear only in the recognised form as before, and to confine its attentions to the particular clan concerned, a selected animal is specially set apart as a habitation, and it only is the totem, other animals of the same species being perhaps enemies.

(4) The totem animal (which ages quickly) is put to death : (a) in order to substitute a more perfect member

of the same species ; (b) as an offering to the bori, perhaps ; and (c) so that the worshippers may absorb the albaraka possessed by the animal.

(5) The priestly king stands in a special relation to this totem animal (*e.g.* he has a similar name), and also with the bori, the latter compelling the totem to answer his summonses.

(6) The soul of the totem is thought to be indwelling in the priestly king.

(7) The soul of the clan is in his keeping.

(8) The bori takes possession of him, and of him only, since he alone would be able to receive the spirit.

(9) The soul of the totem is identified with the bori, as is also the soul of the clan.

(10) The priestly king is killed : (a) in order to substitute a younger and stronger man ; (b) possibly as an offering to the bori (*e.g.* Magiro) ; and (c) so that, if faithful, parts of his body may be used as charms.

It is hardly necessary, perhaps, to point out that the full development would not be found in every clan, and that even where it was, sooner or later a strong king would object to experiencing the fate of his predecessors. By sacrificing some of his subjects or prisoners of war, he would appease the wrath of the bori, and would at the same time divest himself of a part of his special divine attributes ; by allowing the priests to perform the rites of the guardian bori as well as those pertaining to the other spirits, they would be enriched and so bought off ; and, gradually, the bori would become again merely a guardian spirit unconnected with either the totem or the priestly king.

CHAPTER V

PERSONAL ENHANCEMENT AND DRESS

THE negroes in the cities of Tunis and Tripoli, and in the towns of Gafsa and Sfax are very much cleaner than are many of their brethren in their own country, because they have to conform to the regulations imposed by the French and Italians, but even in Northern Nigeria the Hausas will bear comparison with all other tribes there which I have noticed except the Ankwoi, though they come nowhere near, hygienically speaking, to some of the Gold Coast tribes—*e.g.* the Ashantis.

The houses themselves are often kept very neat, washing water, etc., being emptied down the drains, but as the sweepings are all shot out into the streets, the surroundings are anything but tidy. The rubbish is collected by men (mostly Arabs) in the employ of the Government, who place it in carts, and take it to a depot to be destroyed.

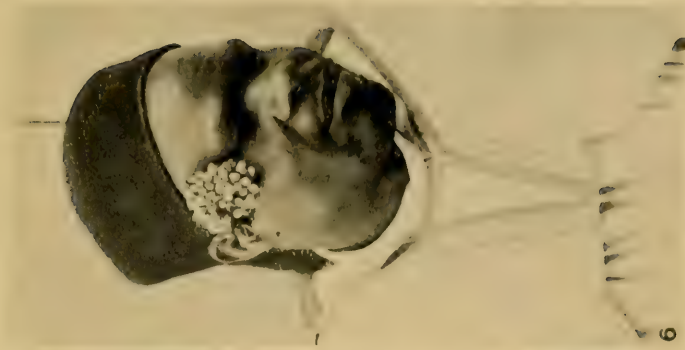
The great majority of the inhabitants of Hausaland, being now Mohammedans, must perform some ceremonial washings, but I am solemnly assured that it was always their custom to wash face, hands, and feet early in the morning, before and after food, and that those in North Africa always do this. I do not remember, however, that the people in Nigeria were particular about washing before meals. They do not necessarily wash before prayer, unless they have polluted themselves in some way, and there need be no special ablution before paying a visit.



4.—Medicine men.



5.—Khaneis and his father Salah.



6.—Hai Ali.

The face, hands, and feet may be washed outside the room, but when the whole body is bathed with warm water, it is done in the room itself, and French soap is used, the water being afterwards thrown down the drain, which, combined with the washhouse, etc., is called *salanga*. There are Arab baths in which the natives can bathe—at a charge of threepence in Tunis. The men rub their teeth with a stick of *jinjiriya*, and rinse their mouths early in the morning and after food ; the women use *swak* or *kuriya*, which will stain if not washed off at once.

The people have no odour peculiar to themselves, and I did not notice them as being different to most of their neighbours, though in Northern Nigeria, at any rate, they did not smell anything like as much as the Nupes. But in this connection it may be truly said that “ comparisons are odorous,” so I must not continue them. In any case, perfumes are used of either European or Arabic make, bought in the *suk*, or market.

The people are fairly careful of their personal appearance, for they are not at all desirous of appearing old. One woman, Khadejia, quite forty years of age, informed me that if she could only go back to her own country she would become a virgin again, and her husband (Auta) a youth.

The men shave their heads in accordance with the Mohammedan custom, and wear beards and moustaches if they will come, but the hair is usually sparse. The heads of all children are shaved on the eighth or name-day, but after that, only the foreheads and necks are so treated in the case of girls. In Hausaland, the women wear a ridge (*dauka*) of cotton-wood, or some other hard substance, running from front to back, over which the hair is plaited, but in Tunis it is not worn, and, in fact, many of

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the women have no hair at all upon their heads, and in despair are forced to paint their polls and eyebrows with a preparation made from the *dabga* plant. This, I was told, is due to the bad water of Tunis, which destroys the hair. With some women it falls out suddenly, with others gradually, and only strangers suffer, for in the case of the Arabs who have lived there always, the hair is said not to be affected, though this cannot be the case if wigs command a sale. No measures are taken to make the hair grow again, and in Tunis wigs (*sha'ir*) do not appear upon the heads of the Hausas, although they may be worn by the Arabs (as are also false teeth), and they are for sale in the suks. In North Africa, a girl when about seven has her hair tied into a tail and bound round with braid, the occasion being marked by a feast. The braid comes tightly round the forehead also, but instead of giving the wearer a headache, as one might suppose, it is regarded as a charm against such a thing.¹ The girl often increases its length by artificial means, and coloured wool is used for the purpose, though even amongst the negresses the artifice is not successfully hidden. A woman in Haja Gogo's house, for instance, had a mat of red-brown wool, which was more like a baby's "Dutch bonnet" (after the baby had been playing with it) than hair! However, the wearer seemed exceedingly proud of her possession.

Dabga for the face and head is prepared in the following manner. The fruit (something like that of a gum-tree) is roasted in a small pot of clay (Fig. 1), the joint being covered with mud. When smoke begins to arise—within a few minutes—the pot is removed, and the lid is taken off. A few drops of water are poured in, and the mixture (black) is painted on with a thin stick or other object—Khadejia used a broken European knitting-needle for the purpose.

The patterns on the face (Fig. 6) are interesting. I could not discover their signification, however, for they have been borrowed from the Arabs, but they probably correspond to the rings and marks made round the eyes with coloured earth by Hausa women to ward off the evil eye—and also, perhaps, as a protection against the bori.

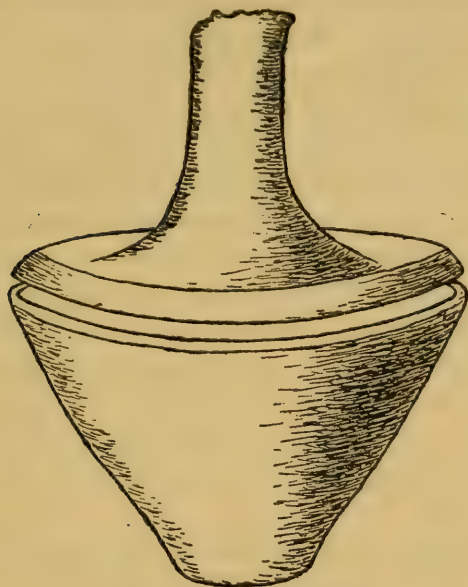


FIG. 1.—A Pot for Dabga

A man will not have his hair shaved in the presence of anyone who owes him a grudge. After his hair has been cut, he will look around, and if there is no enemy about he will mix his cuttings with those of other men and leave them, but if he fears someone there he will collect the cuttings, and take them secretly to some place and bury them. With a baby this is said to be unnecessary, as he has no enemies—a surprising statement. Nails are cut with scissors, and they are always buried in secret.

Most of the Hausas of Tunis city use no henna for their hands, feet, or nails, partly on account of the expense, partly on account of the fact that they have no heart to keep up the practices of their country in a strange land, so they say. The skin at the root of the nail is called *dan-uba* (father's son) because the removal of it causes as much pain as does the separation of a man from his child in a time of plenty. Antimony is used for the eyes.

After a baby has been born, the midwives will mould its head with their hands, if necessary, for seven days, and the mother may do it also during that time, but after this "the head becomes bone" and it is not touched. Not only the top of the head, but the nose, chin, and cheek-bones are treated, if necessary. This is merely so as to make the head "look good," for "a person with a head on one side would excite ridicule," and there is not, so I am told, any religious motive for it²; in fact, were it to happen that by some mischance (*e.g.* the unavailability of a midwife, and the idleness or illness of the mother) the child's head were not moulded within the first seven days, it would be left alone.

I noticed that a few members of the community now speaking Hausa had their lips pierced, and some had holes in their noses also,³ but these mutilations are not strictly Hausa, they had been done before the people (pagans of Bauchi, Zaria, and Bornu provinces, in all probability) had been captured, and it is only in females that the lobes of the ears are pierced. This, in North Africa, is done by the mother or other responsible female when the girl is about the age of four, the instrument nowadays being a sewing needle of European make, and a piece of silk is left in for a week or so. Then a small gold or silver ring may be inserted, and later on—when the wearer has reached

the age of seven or thereabouts—the bigger earrings are worn if available. No girls are left with the ears unpierced, for “they would then be like men,” and so, if they are not willing to undergo the operation they are forced into it.

The teeth are not filed or broken in any way. Extraction in Nigeria is rare, but in Tunis the Hausas say that their teeth are much worse owing to the damp, and Arab barbers extract their teeth with pincers when necessary. The women’s teeth are sometimes stained with swak or with the juice of the tobacco flower, as there is no kola-nut here, and this makes the lips red also. The milk-teeth or any subsequently extracted must be carefully buried, for with these, as with the hair and nail-parings, evil may be worked upon the person from whom they have come—a child with milk-teeth has a magical influence or a special immunity in some cases, as will be seen later. Such characteristics have been noticed in other countries, of course, but with the Hausas it is possible that the difference between the dangers threatening old and young is due to the fact that the latter have no jealous bori-lover. Any change from the ordinary order of growth is greatly objected to, for the child will certainly develop an evil disposition. A certain chief of Hadejia, Gariba, was born with teeth, and he put to death many of his subjects for nothing ; which was only to be expected in the case of such a monstrosity !

The trunk and limbs are not purposely deformed except in a few trifling particulars. In Nigeria, a child may have a band of string or beads which has gradually become tight because of the growth of the wearer, but sooner or later this is removed or enlarged, it is not intended to cause any permanent deformation. In North Africa, however,

the string is discarded, for the children have to wear clothes. The gripping of the catch of the sandal-clog worn in Nigeria between the great and second toes produces a slight change in their position, but this is not noticeable in North Africa, for although the feet are more often shod than in Hausaland—where any kind of footwear is the exception amongst all but the higher classes—the clogs, etc., have a single strap right across the foot.⁴ The Hausa women often wear Arab shoes, so much too short for their feet that they do not reach the heel, and owing to this their gait is greatly altered, the body being thrown forward and the length of the stride reduced.

The genital organ in the female is untouched nowadays, even if—as some assert—the clitoris ever was excised, but circumcision is practised upon the male, and this was not due to Mohammedanism,⁵ several tribes in the Hausa States which are still pagan performing this rite, as has been mentioned in *The Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria*. The boy is operated upon between the ages of five and nine years. He makes no special preparation beforehand, but on the appointed day his father washes him, his hands and feet are stained with henna, and having been dressed up and adorned with ornaments of silver, etc., he parades the streets near his home for an hour or so. He then returns (about three P.M.) and the operation is performed by a barber who comes to the house, the instrument being a razor or pair of scissors of the ordinary pattern, but never used for any other purpose. It is worth noting, perhaps, that scissors are not closed as with us, but are held open, and the material to be cut is slid down the very sharp blades towards their junction. Only one cut is made, I am told, for the skin is first drawn forward, the operator sitting opposite the patient, and the boy is then

lifted on to a bed and is nursed for seven days—or more, if absolutely necessary—the operator dressing the wound each morning and evening.

In Hausaland no female must come near him during this time, but in North Africa it does not matter, and, in fact, owing to the circumstances in which the people live it would be impossible to observe such a rule. The foreskin is buried in some spot outside—for it is “a dead man”—the blood is swept up with the dust and thrown down the drain. No new name is given to a youth at this time or afterwards, the only change ever made being that the youngest child will be called *Auta*, as is mentioned later.

The above ceremonial holds in Tunis, but in the Hausa States several boys may be circumcised at the same time, living afterwards, under the supervision of some of the elders, in a special house built or set apart for the purpose, until healed, each boy leaving when well enough. In this case, each patient in turn sits over a hole, and the foreskin and blood fall into it. Strangely enough, it is said now that an enemy could not work evil through the foreskin of another, although he could do so through his clothes, but the fact of the immediate burial of the prepuce seems to point to the contrary being the case. There is usually no hanging back on the part of the candidate, for a boy is anxious to be circumcised, though if he did refuse to be operated upon, force would be used, and if a boy ran away and lived among a non-circumcising tribe, he would be compelled, if he returned, to become as the others, even though grown up. But the rite would never be performed upon a dead boy, for “since He had called him, Allah would have shown that He did not wish it done.” A circumcised youth has precedence over his uncircumcised

brothers in the order of dipping in the dish at meals, but in North Africa there seems to be no other advantage. A woman would not marry an uncircumcised man, however, for he would not be a proper person, but, apparently, he would not be considered incapable of begetting children, and he would be buried after death, and would go to Allah in the usual way.

The Semitic custom of putting the hand under the thigh when swearing is explained by some as the touching of that part of the body which has been made holy by circumcision. Perhaps a survival of this is seen in the practice found amongst certain West African tribes of passing a knife or other piece of iron between the legs when taking an oath.⁶

The operator is a barber, anyone whom the parents may choose. He has no particular status, and there is no difficulty in the way of any person becoming one. He washes his hands before and after the operation, but need not make any other preparation. His fee depends upon the position and generosity of the patient's father.

In certain districts, Zinder, Bornu, and Baghirimi, youths taken captive in war were castrated, but they were very few in number, as it is said that only two or three per cent. survived the operation, for the whole of the parts were cut off, boiling oil being poured upon the wound to stop the bleeding, according to my informant. These eunuchs were therefore exceedingly valuable, and they often formed part of a very special present from one big chief to another.

In Daura, the tribal marks are said to be made upon the name day, but they are usually made later in life. There is no magic in them, they simply show where the wearer has come from.⁷ "If a person said that he was

born in Daura, and had not the marks, people would call him a liar." In other places, they may be made at any age during youth. The children born in North Africa are not scarified, even though both of the parents are natives of the same district. In addition to the tribal marks pure and simple, there are several scarification charms,⁸ and very often a lizard is seen, particularly upon the forearm, though it may appear elsewhere. I do not think that this is totemistic, for I have not noticed representations of other animals, one bird being excepted, and the prayer-board is quite common. The real explanation seems to be that it has been evolved from the sign of Tanith described in the final chapter. In the diagrams of tribal and other marks given in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, will be seen several which are known as "sleeping with the one desired," being charms to attract prostitutes. Fig. 3 (H.S.C.) is much conventionalised, but Fig. 77 gives us clearly the sign of Tanith in an anthropomorphic form. From it the evolution of a lizard-shaped object is easy, and it is not at all unlikely that this was at first a crocodile (for the water-spirit) although now called a "crocodile of the town" or lizard. It is used in Tunis and elsewhere as an amulet against the evil eye.⁹

The scarifications are made by clean cuts with a sharp knife, in shape something like an arrow-head, after which a mixture of grease and black from the cooking pots is rubbed in. Sometimes, so as to make the patterns more distinguishable, antimony is put into the pricks in addition to the grease and pot-black.

Black stripes are often painted upon the face in Nigeria for ornament, or to avoid the evil eye.¹⁰ I have not seen them here, though I am told that some women have them at times, and that, as for the eyebrows, a preparation of

dabga is used, but in Nigeria the stain is obtained from the kiriya tree.

Flowers are worn only by boys, irresponsible men, and prostitutes, according to Auta, but Haj Ali said that many men decorated themselves thus when they wished to look nice. A small bunch is placed over the right ear, the blossoms being turned towards the face, as is seen in the photograph of Haj Ali, No. 6. In Tunis, where there are wild flowers in plenty, many youths and several men were wearing them. I did not see any in Tripoli—but flowers are exceedingly scarce there, so that may be the reason. Some say that the wearing of flowers is entirely due to the people's love of scent, hence the custom of arranging them so that the blossoms are as near the nose as possible.

Ornaments of gold and silver are worn, most of them being charms against the evil eye, as is mentioned later, but beads are not plentiful here except during the bori dances, when all the women and many of the men array themselves in all their finery.¹¹

The Hausas of Tunis wear much more than do their relatives in Hausaland, because, owing to their living with the Arabs and others, they are compelled to follow the customs of the country. There is also more distinction between the dress worn by the different sexes—as is only natural where the garments become more elaborate. But even the Arab clothing has proved insufficient, and many Hausas don European socks—usually white—when out walking, while some of them even substitute elastic-sided boots for the leather slippers or wooden clogs in more general use. A native clad in the loose garments of the patriarchs is apt to amuse one when the finishing touch to his costume is a cheap, ill-made French edition of the modern Jemima !

In the Hausa States, a man will never omit his loin-cloth, even after he has been promoted to the dignity of trousers, for it would be indecent for him to do so ; but in North Africa there is no such rule. On the other hand, whereas women in Nigeria think a short petticoat (a small cloth wrapped from waist to thighs) is quite sufficient, in Tunis and Tripoli trousers must be worn, for a woman is said to be naked without them. Another explanation is that the trousers are better for keeping out the cold, and that were the women to return home, they would at once leave them off—but this argument hardly applies to the discarding of the loin-cloth. It is a curious fact that in the bori dances held by certain pagan tribes in parts of the Muri province, the women wear trousers during their performance, though this is not at all usual even there, for at Amar, they had only the ordinary cloths.¹² The significance in this will be pointed out in a later chapter, and it is worth noting that in Bornu, horses are sometimes dressed in these garments for a State procession,¹³ though I am not prepared to say that there is any connection, religious or otherwise, between the two customs.

The men wear a shirt tucked inside the trousers, a zouave jacket, a tobe, or long robe, and a turban. When outside, they put on a burnous. The women wear a jersey or shirt, of flannel or cotton, a short chemise (usually of coloured material) not reaching to the waist, a zouave jacket, trousers, several Hausa or other native made cloths wrapped round the body, and a handkerchief over their heads, while for the streets most of them in the city of Tunis have adopted the black veil, or, rather, the band of silk crepe wound above and below the eyes. In Gafsa (Ill. 19) the costume more resembles that of the Bedawin.

But many introduce articles of European manufacture, some of them delighting in a shortened blouse, or as they call it, a *bilusa*. When going outside, they wrap round themselves a white cloth—like a light blanket—and put a smaller one over the head, these being two garments in Tunis, not one as is the burnous of the men. They have no burnous, but they are much less often seen in the streets than are the members of the sterner sex, so perhaps they are supposed not to require it.

At night, the man takes off all but his shirt and trousers, and if he has plenty of clothes he will perhaps keep special ones for night use. Women also sleep in trousers in North Africa.

One reason given why the veil is worn is that the men do not want their women to be seen—as in the case of the Arabs—but a more likely one seems to be that supplied by Haj Ali, who says that negresses without veils would be very noticeable in the streets, and would invite rude remarks about the size of their mouths and noses. They know nothing about the original reason for the adoption of this covering, which is said to be the fear of the evil eye, and women being much more likely to attract attention, it was more important to protect them. A better explanation seems to be that the veil hides the woman—especially at her wedding—from her bori of the opposite sex, for this is a very ancient Semitic idea; even St Paul (1 Cor. xi. 10) recommends the *chalebi* (no doubt the Hausa *kallabi*) “because of the angels,” and, apparently, to show them that she now belongs to a human husband.¹⁴ In Tripoli, however, the Hausa women did not seem to mind, for they did not cover their faces in any way.

The articles of clothing are made of cotton, wool, or silk, being bought from the Arabs—or, in rare cases, from



7.—Munchi Masu-Bori. 8.—Jakuns.

Europeans. They are not shaped to the body, except in a general way, the zouave jacket being the best-fitting garment worn, and in the case of the women some of the articles are merely cloths wrapped round the body. They are sewn with a perforated needle of European make, sewing machines—especially the Singer—being very common, and the tobés of the men and the jackets are often beautifully embroidered, the patterns having been derived from signs against the evil eye, perhaps. But there are no Hausa tailors here, and the manufacture, therefore, hardly comes under Hausa culture.

There are rules of fashion in that the Hausa has to copy the Arab or Berber with whom he lives, but certain differences (particularly in the case of the women) are noticeable, and have been mentioned above. At special times—*e.g.* feasts—specially good clothing will be worn if the owner has it, the wardrobe depending entirely upon the person's purse. At the bori ceremonies in Tunis, for instance, several of the women had gaudy European bodices, and one or two even skirts, the rest of the attire being either Hausa or Arabic. In Tripoli the scene was exceedingly pretty, for although the faces of the performers were not exactly handsome, the brilliant tints and the variety of the wide silken scarves waved in the air produced quite a beautiful picture. No one could accuse a West African of the lack of an eye for colour !

There is no hunting or fishing done by the Hausas in North Africa, except, perhaps, in the case of an individual or two in the employ of Europeans or Arabs, but there is no change in the costume in Hausaland for such sports so far as I know—except that superfluous clothing (*e.g.* the tobé) would be removed, and, while hunting, no white would be worn, because it could be seen afar off. For

riding, long boots of soft leather are worn there, and Arab ones would be adopted in the north were there a Hausa who had a horse, but as there is not, the question of the proper costume does not worry them.

Prostitutes may wear no veil, though they usually do so in Tunis, and may paint the cheeks red with *hommi*, a rouge (of European manufacture) obtained in the suk. They have a peculiar walk which makes them known, says my informant (Auta), but a stranger could always ask the police to direct them to them, for both in Tunis and Tripoli they are under supervision, and live in a street specially set apart for such people.

The Hausas here do not fight, so there is nothing corresponding to a uniform or a war medal, yet in Nigeria the forces could be distinguished at a distance, owing to some peculiarity of dress or formation.¹⁵

In the Hausa States, a boy is given a tobe at any time after his circumcision, though he may have only a long shirt at first, and perhaps trousers also, the turban coming after marriage. A girl is given a cloth when she begins to know that she is naked. In Tunis and Tripoli, the tobe and trousers are worn by small boys, but the turban is not bestowed until after the twentieth year. The girls also are clothed from infancy. There are no changes in clothing to mark puberty or initiation (except as suggested above), betrothal or marriage (except during the actual ceremony), pregnancy or parentage (except that sometimes in Hausaland the turban is not worn by a man until he becomes a father), or in sickness or insanity. In North Africa, a person in mourning may be unable to afford to show it in his dress, but even in the Hausa States only the widow need make any great change, wearing white for three months, and this rule is often disregarded. The

clothes of the deceased are divided up amongst those entitled to them, or washed and sold.

Sometimes European umbrellas and goggles are used, but they are not common. Gloves are never worn, though this is natural, considering their discomfort in a hot climate, and the size of the Hausas' hands. But it strikes one as curious that they have never been adopted by these superstitious and inventive people, for, if blown out, what an excellent protection they would be against the evil eye !

CHAPTER VI

HABITATIONS AND DOMESTIC LIFE

THE Hausas of Tunis have no houses of their own, as has been stated, and they say that they would not be allowed to build in their own way, nor to congregate together even if they had land on which to live, owing to the fear of their rulers that they would be trying to combine and thus form a centre of revolt. They live in Arab or Berber houses, therefore, and have oblong rooms forming sides of a hollow square, instead of separate round huts. The building and plan of the common round and square Hausa houses have already been described elsewhere,¹ so they need not be repeated here, and since the Arabic house hardly enters into the question, a detailed description is not appropriate. All that need be said is that there are the several apartments, in addition to the ordinary bed-sitting-rooms, all opening on to a central court, there being usually the depth of only one room between the courtyard and the outer wall. The house is therefore square, consisting of single rooms forming the four sides, the walls being strongly built of brick, and permanent. The rooms are separate structurally, and with no inside doors. Auta's room, the best one which I saw, measured 25 feet by 9 feet by about 12 feet in height.

A double door, opening inwards on to the flagged courtyard, is secured by hooks stuck in the wall, and by bars of wood. It is often studded with nails, and although it is evident that they have been placed so as to give a dia-



9.—A lane in Tunis.
10.—The drawing-room (and medicine-house) of Haja Gogo.

grammatic representation of a hand—which in some cases is in the form of a lyre—it may be that the mere driving in of the nails gives protection, imprisoning in the wood-work of the door the good influence invoked. An outline resembling a double hand is often seen also. An iron ring acts as a knocker, and when this is rapped, the cry comes: "*Askul*" (Who is it?). On a satisfactory reply being received, the fastenings are undone, and, after waiting a moment for the women to get inside the rooms out of sight, the visitor enters. Near the door is the retiring room, and washhouse, through which flows water in a drain, that for drinking being obtained from a well in the courtyard. The furniture consists of divans, raised wide beds, European chairs, chiffoniers, etc., gaudily painted Arabic brackets, like those in the Frontispiece, pictures, and various cushions. Nails, upon which things are to be hung, are driven into the walls, but garments are usually folded up and kept out of sight. The furniture, with the exception of the beds, is the private property of the tenant. Auta's bed was 7 feet by 5 feet, the iron decoration over the side facing the centre of the room (the bed just fitted into one end of the room) was 9 feet in height, the pattern being one of scrolls and crescents.

After a Ba-Maguje has received leave from his chief to build a house, he will go to the spot with friends (not necessarily the Masu-Bori), and will offer a sacrifice. This, if he is a rich man, may consist of a bull, if not, of a he-goat; or he will omit these if too poor to afford them, but a white hen and a red cock must always be offered. All the bori will drink the blood of the bull or he-goat, but only *Kuri* and *Mai-Inna* take that of the fowls, it being spilt upon the ground in each case, while the flesh is always eaten by the house-owner and the other people. The man can

then build, but upon the day when he is to enter his house, he will offer another cock and hen.²

Before commencing a farm (which might not be too near to the wall of a city before our occupation) he must offer fowls in a similar manner, and may, if he likes, add a he-goat. It is always better to offer as much as one can afford, for the bori love a cheerful giver, and will not only help in the erection, but will take care of the owner afterwards, if generous. The boundary is often marked at first by a knot in the grass ; afterwards, a charm post may be set up at a corner of the field, this having given rise, perhaps, to the Tar Baby story.³

In North Africa the same practices may be followed if anyone knows of them, but as the Hausas do not build for themselves, the sacrifices are not due from them. One European gave a ram at the end of the first and second weeks once, in Tunis, and the bori drank its blood and helped in the work—" they must have done so for it was completed so soon." But when Hausa tenants go to another lodging, they will offer at any rate a white hen upon the new threshold. In Nigeria some men did not trouble much about these bori after the house had once been built ; others, however, used to set apart one of the huts, and put into it any bori objects which they could obtain. Incense was offered every Thursday night inside the door (in a pot), and two fowls were sacrificed upon each anniversary. Some of the bori would always be there, except when called away temporarily by some other worshipper, though even the householder would not know which, for no one can see them, but incense would bring them all instantly, even from Egypt or Tunis. Some of the Magazawa still perform these rites, but the Moham-medan Hausa of Nigeria does not admit having a special

temple for his spirits, though the *Bokas* and *Arijas* of North Africa are proud of theirs.

Each family has its house, there are no communal dwellings. The house, or rather the lease, passes to the heir on the death of the owner, in accordance with the Maliki (or sometimes the Hanafi) code of the Mohammedan law. There is no definite number of years fixed, payment is made every six months, and, apparently, the tenants have a right to stay on so long as they are not in arrears. In Tripoli, owing to a mistake in the meaning of an Italian proclamation, the rent has been doubled, and the Hausas are worse off than ever, now paying monthly. In that protectorate there are small negro villages outside the Arab cities, but in the city the Hausas rent rooms as in Tunis.

In Nigeria, the porch is usually the guest-chamber, though one of the inside huts may be used ; in North Africa there is no special room. Nor are any storehouses set apart for food ; the people rent one room only, unless richer than the average, and everything has to be kept therein. Cooking is done in Nigeria in the courtyard, outside the living rooms or huts ; in North Africa it may be either outside or inside, though I believe that meat is cooked in the open.⁴ It is regarded as women's work, but bachelors would have to do it unless they could engage someone for the purpose, and, if a wife were too ill for the duty, and the husband unable to obtain help, he could do it without exciting ridicule. Certain charms, however—*e.g.* those used by hunters—are made by men only, as is explained later. The food of both sexes is prepared together, but it is served in separate calabashes. The fire is produced from charcoal in an earthenware pot with three prongs called *kyanu* or *murufu*. Sometimes a single dish (*tukuniya*) is placed above this, but for certain foods (*e.g.*

couscous) another with holes in the bottom (*kaskas* or *madambache*) is placed on top again, the centre vessel containing only water. In Hausaland, the cooking pot

is nearly always of the shape shown in Fig. 2, the manufacture of which has been described in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*.

A person, either male or female, cooking in the dark must not put a light close to the pot, and look in to see how the operation is progressing, nor must he or she taste the contents otherwise than by sipping from a spoon. A breach of either of these rules would render the men who ate of the food useless in war and in hunting.

Cooking vessels and calabashes are always cleaned directly after use, except, perhaps, at night, or in unusual circumstances. It is a sign of extreme disrespect to serve food in a dirty vessel.

Meat may be preserved in Tunis by salting lumps of it (leaving it in the salt from noon one day until early the next morning), and then cutting it into strips, drying it in the sun (for one, two, or more days, as required), and packing it away in a pot of *zid* (oil) until required—perhaps a year hence. When eventually used, it is



FIGS. 2, 3 and 4.—Cooking Utensils, which are placed above each other in this order. In Illustration 5 a different Utensil is seen.

cooked immediately before being eaten. In the Hausa States, it is not necessarily salted first. Large fish may be smoked over the fire, and these will need no subsequent cooking.

Meat is preferred rather high, milk when sour, and strong-smelling dishes are great favourites, though this is more noticeable in West than in North Africa. Fish is considered most appetising when very dead indeed! The meat should not be too well cooked. Spits are used for broiling in Nigeria, being stuck upright in the ground by the side,



FIG. 5.—A Vessel for Water.

but in Tunis they are placed above the fire. There is no roasting done by Hausas in the city of Tunis, but in the country and in Nigeria a trench may be dug and filled with sticks, which are then lighted. When reduced to live charcoal leaves are thrown over them, and the meat is placed upon these.⁵ More leaves are put on top of the meat, and then the hole is closed up, another fire being lit above the closed hole. Hot springs exist here, but they are not used by the Hausas for boiling purposes, nor are hot stones. Vegetables may be stewed alone, or with the meat.

The cooking sometimes gives trouble. There is a plant called *magiro*, any part of which if put in a rival's pot will prevent the food being cooked however much wood is heaped upon the fire. It is only to be expected that anything with such an infamous name would behave badly.

No proper bread is baked in Nigeria, though a certain

kind, containing a plentiful supply of red pepper, is made in the northern districts, but in Tunis it is sold in the streets. Khadejia, who makes and sells it, gave me the following description. "At four A.M. I mix salt and yeast with the flour, and pour boiling water on to this. I leave it for half-an-hour so that it may rise, and then knead and add water as required for an hour and a half. I cover it up, and let it rise for another half-an-hour, then stir it for some time, and take it to the oven, the owner of which I pay, to have it baked. About eleven A.M. it will be done, and then I take it to market, and sell it." In Tunis, a yeast (*hamira*) is used ; in Nigeria, palm-wine makes quite a good substitute.

Several oils may be used in frying, palm-oil being the one most preferred by the Hausas, but if this is not available (it is not in Tunis), cow butter will do instead, and even shea-butter—though pepper must not be put into the last-named, else the food will be too hot, so they say. Groundnut oil is not used, not at any rate in ordinary times. In addition to the oils, animal fat is also employed, of course, and salt and pepper. The salt in Tunis comes from the local deposits, or may be bought from European grocers ; in Nigeria some is supplied by the different trading companies, some is prepared by natives in Bornu, Muri, and other provinces. The pepper there is grown by the natives ; in North Africa it can be obtained in the Arab or the European suks or shops. Sugar is taken in tea and coffee in Tunis and Tripoli, but not in Nigeria, except in the Arab houses in Kano and elsewhere, but honey (from wild bees, which are induced to live in hives made of bark) appears in several dishes.

There seems to be no appetiser used by the Hausas in North Africa. A few kola-nuts, which, however, are more

of a stimulant, are to be had, but are too dear for these people except on very special occasions. They are not quite so rare in Tripoli, however, and are given to those visitors of sufficient importance who know how to appreciate them.

The meal-times are fairly well defined, though they must in certain circumstances depend upon the work of the particular people. The food supply is regular, and, as the cooking takes time, the hours must be observed, except, perhaps, by bachelors living alone and without any manual work to do. In the early morning in Tunis, tea or coffee is taken, with some scraps of bread or biscuit, should there be time, but if the worker goes out about four-thirty A.M. he may not have his breakfast until eight o'clock. Some may take both. In Tripoli the Hausas go in more for trading, and so suit their hours to the convenience of their customers. In Nigeria, water and scraps from the previous night are probably all that will be available in the average house. The midday meal, the most important of the day, is taken soon after noon, and meat will be eaten then if to be had. The meat comes cut up, and it is eaten first, each person taking a piece with his right hand. In Nigeria the grain is eaten in the same way, but in North Africa spoons are used for the latter, and for the soup or gravy which accompanies it.

The supper comes any time after sunset, and will be to a large extent a repetition of the dinner. When travelling, flour is carried in the haversack, and this, mixed with water, and, if possible, sour milk, may be drunk at any time—probably between ten and eleven A.M., on the march.

Each family eats separately, and in Nigeria the circumcised males eat apart from and before the other members.

In North Africa, the husband eats inside the room, and the wife does so also and at the same time, though she may turn away from him, and will at any rate dip out of a separate vessel. In Nigeria, the husband eats in the courtyard—or in his own hut—while each wife has her food in her own apartment, and would not allow any circumcised male to see her doing so, probably on account of a fear of harm, as has been mentioned elsewhere. If the husband has sons, those who have been circumcised eat with him, and dip in order of seniority after him in the dishes placed upon the ground between them, the juniors saying “*Gafera*” (excuse me) the first time. If there be a guest of inferior or equal status, he will dip after the master of the house; if slightly superior, he will dip first. But if the guest be a chief—a real chief, not simply a slave elected head, as in North Africa—he will eat by himself, and not even the householder will partake until he has finished. If the householder has a visitor just before ordering a meal, he must invite him to take pot-luck, however little he has, and however hungry he himself may be. This is said to be due to a feeling of shame at being thought greedy, but there is no doubt that it arose originally through fear of the evil eye, as has been explained in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*.⁶ Should several persons be dining together, and, after each one has helped himself a few times, it is seen that there is not enough to go the whole round again, the least important person present takes what remains. However greedy a man might be (for there are plenty of such) he would not be able to belittle himself simply in order to get the most, for everyone would know his status.

Grace is said both before and after meals, but no thanks are given to the bori. They must not be ignored altogether,

however, and should a person yawn without covering his mouth, he is almost certain to let in some bori, and he should then spit it out again. One says, "Thanks be to God" after sneezing, for by that act one expels some bori which has entered without his knowing it. The expression is not used, however, when the person induces the bori to enter, as in the bori dance. For that reason, pepper is not at all popular with the spirits, for it makes a person sneeze and so drive them out.

Haj Ali says that eggs are never given to children, because they would like them so much that they would do anything to get them, and so would rob all the hen-roosts in the vicinity. Adults poach them, however.

The heart and liver of animals have special properties, and certain products are valuable—thus the dung of cattle in a lotion is excellent for small-pox,⁷ and the urine will kill worms in the stomach, according to Haj Ali.

In times of scarcity, certain foods would be eaten which would never be touched in ordinary occasions, such as the fruit of the bulbous *kinchiya* plant, the *rogon daji* (a kind of wild manihot), and *chakkara* (a poor species of yam), the root of which is cooked in salt and oil, or even ash and oil. In Nigeria, the *gwaza*, a very bitter tuber, is also eaten when yams, sweet potatoes, etc., are not available. There seems to be no religious significance in this, the reason being merely that these articles of diet are much less palatable than those in general use. Some foods are prohibited in Nigeria, however, for clans would not eat their totem, and in addition both there and in North Africa there are the rules imposed by Islam. Women and children have the same food as the men, and the only difference between the supplies for their table (or rather

floor) and for that of a chief would be due solely to the cost. But during the first three months of pregnancy, a white earth is eaten by a woman to ensure a successful result—it is not used as food during a famine. In Gafsa and elsewhere it is mixed with charcoal, and olive oil, as a means to deaden the pangs.

There is no cannibalism amongst the Hausas in North Africa, and it does not exist amongst these people in their own country nowadays, though there are signs that human flesh was eaten by them at one time.⁸ Many other tribes in Nigeria continue to delight in the delectable dish, however, and even those which have abandoned the practice are still accused of it by their neighbours in many cases. There is no room for any folk-lore in this book, but the following "true account of an eye-witness" (told by Kandi to Haj Ali about twenty years ago) is interesting as showing to what length these travellers' tales will go, even though founded upon truth. It is not surprising, however, for if the ordinary person, however intelligent, who has never travelled out of Europe thinks of cannibals, he will conjure up visions of evil monsters who with gloating eyes voraciously devour their victims as do wild beasts, whereas in many cases the man-eater is in appearance a gentle person who pecks delicately at his enemy in order to absorb the virtues of the deceased, not on account of the taste of his flesh. The heart of a lion or a leopard will make a man who eats it fearless of any danger whatever, and the raw heart of a valiant enemy will render the eater very brave in war. A story of mine which appeared in *Folk-lore* (September 1911) shows that the Hausas believe that to eat a very popular person will cause the epicure to be very well liked by all—except by the family of the deceased, one would imagine!

Some years before, when she was about sixteen years of age, Kandi's town, Maradi, was raided by the people of Kano, and she was captured and carried off. Soon afterwards she was bought by a Hausa slave merchant, and she started with him and thirteen other female slaves on a journey to the north. A month after they had left Kano, they approached a large city, and although there was evidence of cultivation everywhere there was not a man to be seen, though there were numbers of dogs.⁹ As they reached the gate, one of the dogs rushed up to the slave merchant, put his paws upon his shoulders, and was evidently welcoming him, and then he jumped upon one of the women. They were afraid, and wanted to drive it away, but the merchant forbade them to do so, saying that the dog was an important person. The animal then preceded them, and they entered the city, and came to a house where they found women with eyes like those of a spider—or, as we should say, a lobster. But still there was no sign of a man.

They were shown to a hut, and the merchant went off with the dog, and that night, when the spider-eyed women brought them food, they asked in whose house they were. The women replied that the dog was the owner, and that they were his wives, that all women were married to dogs in that city, there being no men. They also told them that the merchant brought women every year, and always sold some to this or another dog, and that they themselves had been brought from Hausaland, the air of the country having caused their eyes to grow out.

Next day, the merchant summoned his slaves to the entrance hall, and when they had entered, they saw several dogs there. A sale at once commenced, and two of the

women were bought by dogs, in spite of their tears and protestations, and they were taken away.

The merchant and the remaining twelve women then continued their journey, and fifteen days afterwards reached a city in which all the people had tails—and were cannibals, as they discovered later. On arrival, the travellers were taken before the chief, a man with fearful burning eyes, and one woman was immediately picked out and given to him. Next day the chief took three more, passing on two of them to his councillors, and keeping the other himself.

The Hausa women wondered why their two fellow-slaves had been handed over to be the property of several men—for exactly the converse is what they had been accustomed to—and, upon their return to their lodgings, they asked the women of the house if such was the custom there. To their horror, they learned that the four women were not destined to be wives and to cook food, but to furnish it, and they at once rushed to the merchant and begged him not to give them up also for they were Mohammedans—as were the people of the city—and, on learning this, he promised to save them if possible, and went at once to the chief. The latter, however, had been looking forward to his feast, and was most reluctant to forgo any of the courses, but at last he agreed that he ought not to eat any who knew how to pray properly, so the women were brought to him and were told to pray. Of the eight (the other four had already been cooked), one half could not do so correctly, and the chief immediately seized them with delight, and ordered them to be added to the menu for that very night, promising, however, that those four who had been successful in the test should leave the town next morning. But on their return to their

lodgings, the merchant said: "Perhaps the chief will change his mind to-morrow, be ready to start as soon as the city is asleep."

They got off without mishap, and travelled all night, and as soon as day broke, the merchant told them to rest a while by a stream at which they had just arrived, but they were too terrified to stop, and kept struggling along. Late in the afternoon they arrived at a large river, and being utterly worn out, and thinking that they were safe, they rested there for a time in peace. But just as they were about to continue their journey they saw horsemen coming upon them, and they were soon surrounded. The leader of these, the chief's son, was a personal friend of the merchant, however, and after a lot of persuasion, he allowed them to proceed, the merchant promising to bring him a special private present of two slaves in the following year. So the fugitives ran on, and that night they crossed the frontier, and were safe.

They again passed the city of the dog-husbands and spider-eyed wives, and these, horrible as they had appeared at first, now seemed like friends after the cannibals. The truth of what they had been told about the eyes was proved, for those women who had been left there had already begun to look like spiders. But even here the four remaining women were not sold, and the merchant brought them back and disposed of them in Hausaland.

Haj Ali appeared to believe the story thoroughly, saying that the dogs were probably aljannu or else human beings punished by them, and their wives would naturally change, while as for the tailed cannibals, are there not many of them even in Hausaland?

CHAPTER VII

HABITATIONS AND DOMESTIC LIFE—*continued*

IF a Ba-Maguje wished to dig a well, he would first enlist the services of a diviner, who would examine the vicinity, and tell the client where to dig. He would have no rod, but he would have powerful charms which would make him able to see below the surface, and after the spot had been indicated, the digger would sacrifice two fowls, and then dig. If no water were found after all, he would be ridiculed, and would lose his reputation. Apparently, therefore, the spirit of life in the rod is affected by the character of the person using it. In North Africa, the Arabs have dug all the wells already.

Water is commonly drunk, some of the people—particularly in Nigeria—never take anything else. Usually no special means are taken to purify it, even in sickness, though it may be roughly strained through cloth. In the Hausa States, a native beer (called *gia* or *giya*) is drunk, and so is palm-wine, though both of these are supposed to be prohibited to Mohammedans ; in North Africa European beers are taken by most, and palm-wine is obtainable at certain places to the south of Tunis, and in Tripoli. Many Mohammedans consider—or rather pretend—that they are quite within their own laws so long as they drink only those intoxicants not known to the Prophet, and therefore not literally forbidden by him. But Europeans can hardly sneer at this, seeing that it is their intoxicants which have brought about such hypocrisy !

As has been mentioned already, tea and coffee are almost unknown to the Hausa in Nigeria unacquainted with the European or the Arab, and in the north both are drunk by nearly all. Tea is said to help the action of the bladder, but coffee has no beneficial effect ; on the contrary, it is harmful, if anything, for "if a person much addicted to this latter beverage cannot get it he will feel very unhappy." Except in the morning, tea and coffee are drunk some time after food, and are made so sweet that their taste is nauseating to a European, mint being often mixed with the former. There may be another strange element, for the tea leaves do not necessarily come from the East, sometimes the leaves of a small running plant resembling dead moss are used instead. The coffee is boiled for some time in small tin mugs with long handles, and is drunk out of cups or glasses, many people carrying their own mugs with them.

A man would not like another to step over the vessel in which his food was being cooked, though this would not prevent his eating it, but the shadow of a dog would spoil it. The reason is that "food is king over every living thing, and it should not be insulted." Even a chief will let everything go for food if he is hungry. "Food rules the world." The Hausa expression probably has reference to an Arab tabu. Shoemakers stick the layers of leather together with clay or with the blood of the spleen ; they do not use paste, because flour was not given by God to be walked upon. This may be a survival, for a lump of dough was once worshipped by the Hanifas, while the Collyridians offered the Virgin Mary, as God, a twisted cake. Paste was frequently used in Assyrian inscriptions, especially when making the circle of defence against demons.¹

Matches are now so common in North Africa, and even

in Nigeria, that very primitive methods need seldom be resorted to, but in both countries, the flint and steel is still used to some extent in the less civilised parts. My informant (Auta) remembers that he used to make a fire in Nigeria in two different ways : (1) A piece, about a foot long, of the hard *tafashiya* shrub was split up lengthwise. A groove was made in another piece of wood, and the hard *tafashiya* was rubbed backwards and forwards in the hole until the cotton tinder smoked, and at last caught fire when blown ; (2) a stalk of guinea-corn was split and held upon the ground by the feet, and another stalk was rubbed to and fro with the hands. A third method was described by Haj Ali, who said that in his district a pointed stick was twirled round and back in the hole in another stick, and powdered guinea-corn stalk acted as tinder. These methods are not used nowadays even in religious ceremonies in the districts where matches are easily obtainable. Burning lenses are sometimes found amongst the Arabs of Tunis, but the French are said to confiscate them, probably in the hope of making the people more civilised through the use of their own matches. No match can equal one of French manufacture, of course, as all who have had the misfortune to use them will agree.

“ Fire has been known to the Hausas ever since they were created,” so there were no legends obtainable as to its introduction, not, at least, by the people who gave me this information about their early culture. Fire is not a bori, nor does a bori dwell in it (“ Would a bori wish to be burnt up ? ”) but some of the spirits (*e.g.* Ba-Toye) set fire to houses, and burn people. The bori like the smell of the incense, not the fire, although a man could not escape from them on account of this, even if he were to sit in a circle of fire, for the bori could fly up above the flame, and come



11



12

11.—Cooking. The girl is an Arab, the woman a Hausa.
12.—Hausas at work.

down inside the circle, or else they could go and destroy his possessions. The Magazawa quench their fires on the death of the master of the house, but the Mohammedan Hausas do not do so.

Live charcoal is kept in the earthenware kyanu (see Fig. 4), and it can be carried about in this. It corresponds to the three stones of Hausaland (used also in country places here), and is, in fact, often given the same name, *murufu*. Should the tenants go out, or be ready for sleep, the ash is raked to one side with an iron implement shaped like sugar-tongs, and the live coals, having been pushed down to the bottom, are covered with the ash, and although the embers will live for several hours, it is said that there is then no danger from fire. Should anyone's house be in flames all neighbours would help to put them out, and they would also assist in the rebuilding afterwards, such "working-bees" being common in Nigeria, and furnishing a foundation for some of the folk-tales.² The people there are not so careful, and at one time the soldiers and police were always having conflagrations in their lines, for they would leave a fire in their grass huts in cold weather and go on parade quite unconcernedly. At last they were made to pay for all damage arising from such causes, and the accidents ceased, but the people thought the regulation extremely unfair. It was the work of a bori or of someone with the evil eye, according to them, and to make the victims pay for the damaged property, although they had lost their own, was adding insult to injury.

The houses in the North African towns mentioned are now lighted by European oil-lamps. In Nigeria, open saucers or lamps of metal are used with a wick of cotton floating in ground-nut-oil or shea-butter, and the Hausas in the country north of the Sahara use similar articles.

Many of them possess large French coloured glass lamps, but for the most part they are useful merely to impress the visitor, it being considered better to allow them to stand imposingly as ornaments on the broken-down chests of drawers than to degrade them by putting them to the base use for which they were originally intended by ignorant Europeans.

The Hausas as a people do not keep cattle, so beef, milk and butter have to be obtained from the pastoral peoples if in the vicinity, otherwise they do without, or use substitutes, but goats and sheep are kept for food, and horses, camels, donkeys, dogs, and cats for use.

In Nigeria, the oxen are bought from the Filani by the Hausa butchers, and may be kept for a little time to be fattened up, or until most of the meat has been contracted for. But they are not used for draught by the Hausas (except under European direction), nor are they ridden as in Bornu. They are humped, usually white in colour, and have long horns set wide apart. The bori keep their own cattle, of course, but that is no reason why they should not afflict or use the herds belonging to human beings, and snakes are supposed to be specially troublesome. One kind of viper is called *shanono*—i.e. “drink-milk.”

The people say that they do not keep cattle because they like the company of their own kind, they cannot understand the Filani going out every day and all day with cattle. They like to work in fits and starts, and although they go on long trading journeys, they can have some opportunity for some time afterwards to rest and to sit with others and talk about it. The Hausa is a sociable person, so he does not like being alone more than he can help. “A Hausa cannot talk to a cow!”³

To many people he appears to be stolid and rather dull,

but he is really a merry soul delighting in mirth. The laughter must be soft, however, for this passes unnoticed by the bori, whereas a loud gaffaw may bring trouble at once, the noise attracting the spirits, the merriment exciting their animus, and the open mouth letting them in. It is rather interesting to note that the European devil never laughs loudly.⁴

The goats are of several colours, but it is generally a black he-goat which is used in sacrifices. They and the sheep are small animals, and not remarkable except for the fact that the latter have hair rather than wool, and even the Hausa confuses them in his folk-lore. There are several varieties, one, from Bornu, with a Jewish nose, being much larger than the average, but, so far as I know, it is not sacrificed, the favourite animal being a white ram with black marks round the eyes. The milk is drunk, and the supply can be increased by grinding up a little of the root of the *Nonon Kurichiya* with a pinch of potash, and mixing the powder with the chaff. The root of the *dajara* creeper thickens milk, and so enables water to be added without the risk of detection. Are there *no* honest milkmen in the world? All of these animals are sold to the butchers or are killed for private use, the skins being tanned and made into "Morocco" leather of various colours. There are fat-tailed sheep specially bred in Tunis, but none are to be found in Nigeria, I believe.

Horses are known to have been imported—one legend says from Bagdad, though Professor Ridgeway has proved that this is not correct. They are mostly small ponies about fourteen hands or less in height, but some are much higher, and are greatly valued by the chiefs. They are not used for draught in Nigeria, but are ridden, the saddle and bridle (already described in *Hausa Superstitions and*

Customs) being of Arab origin. A white star seems to be lucky, and white stockings are supposed to signify that the animal has strength. The horse often saves the hero from witches in the folk-tales, the belief in the animal's power to do this being due possibly to the fact that it was associated with Tanith. A winged steed appears on some of the coins of Carthage and is a divine symbol.⁵ Camels are used in the Northern Hausa States, and by rich Arabs in Tunis and Tripoli, but the Hausas in the latter countries have neither horses nor camels. Donkeys are used to carry loads, one being slung on each side in a long double bag. They are very small animals with a cross down the back and shoulders ; I could get no explanation of this marking.

The dogs in Nigeria resemble greyhounds to some extent in build, and are usually small and cowardly, but there are some breeds of bigger and stronger animals which will fight hyenas. They are of several colours, brown, tan, and black and white. As is mentioned later, the faster ones are used in hunting. They are unfriendly to strangers, whether of their own people or not, and some of them greatly object to Europeans, as do many of the horses in Nigeria which have not previously seen a white skin. In the folk-lore, dogs are credited with powers over witches and bogeys, probably because of their use in hunting, and although it is hotly denied, there is but little reason to doubt that Hausas ate dogs as well as horses at one time, though probably as much on account of the virtues thus absorbed as for the taste. In fact, burnt dog's head is said by one man to have been a remedy for many ills. Some Arabs hold that the ashes of such, mixed with vinegar, are excellent for patients suffering from hydrophobia.

Cats are sometimes half wild in Northern Nigeria, but

in Tunis and Tripoli they have been tamed. They are good mousers and rat-killers.

As the Hausas usually have fires in their rooms or huts for a great part of the year, vermin is not particularly plentiful. But lice find a happy hunting ground in the women's hair in Nigeria, and fleas attack both sexes when sufficient clothing is worn, though the people say that there are none in the city of Tunis. Ticks are a source of loss in Nigeria, and the non-hairy parts and manes and tails of horses are smeared with a mixture of tobacco, onions and grease to keep them clear. Locally bred dogs do not seem to suffer anything like as much from ticks, fleas, or mosquitoes as do the animals brought by Europeans.

Fowls are kept, and sometimes guinea-fowls with them. They seem to be of several breeds, smaller in each case than the European birds. They are used for food, but quite as often for sacrifice, as are pigeons. Turkeys and ducks (or "Yoruba fowls") are kept in small quantities—they are never sacrificed. In Nigeria, these birds run loose in the compound, or even outside, but here they are kept shut up in coops by the salanga.

Two varieties of hives are made for bees in Nigeria, one in the trees, and the other either there or close to the ground. The first is made of a cylinder of bark two or more feet long, with wood or mud at each end, the other is an earthenware pot the mouth of which is almost stopped up. In North Africa there are hives in the courtyards of a few houses, so I am told, but I have not seen any. In order to be able to take the honey, which is of a dark colour, and watery, a smudge of grass is held under the hive until the bees have been driven away, and then the person, having opened one end, takes what he requires, while waving the smudge about so as to protect himself from attack. There

is a honey-guide bird, the *gunda*, which will show the whereabouts of the hives of the wild bees, but this, according to some, is a bad bird, for "even though you have given it its share on each occasion that you have found a hive, one day it will guide you on to a lion, or a snake, or something else dangerous, and you may lose your life. When it takes you to a hive, it waits for its share of the honey (which you place upon the ground), but when it betrays you thus, it simply laughs at you and flies off, leaving you to get out of danger as best you can." Not all birds behave so badly, however (in the folk-tales they are almost universally friendly), and "if the *suda* (which resembles a small sparrow) says *Kadda ka zo wurin nan* (Do not come here) just as you are entering any part of the bush, do not go on, for if you do, you will meet a snake or some wild beast."

Should an animal be about to die, its throat will be cut, and then it may be eaten by the poorer Mohammedan Hausas, unless it has suffered from some disease of which they are afraid. The Magazawa do not mind if it has died naturally or not, they will eat it just the same. If a Moslem Hausa were to leave a bull or cow with another when going on a journey, and the beast fell ill and was dying, the person in charge of it would have to kill it in time, and so enable other Moslems to eat of the flesh. If he did this, he would be under no liability to the owner, so I am informed, but if he were to let it die naturally, so that it became unavailable for food, he would have to pay for it on the owner's return.

Scars may be made with brands of iron usually on the fore or hind quarters of the beast, but other marks of ownership are recognised, such as a slit in the ear. In Tunis, donkeys are often branded upon the nose, and all

animals may have the sign of the hand painted upon their foreheads or other parts of the body as a preventive against the evil eye. It is for more than this, however. The English visitor's blood boils at the cruelty openly shown by Arabs to their animals, though the French seem to care but little, the Italians less, and the Spaniards not at all. If the poor beast has been so badly knocked about that it can hardly move, its master paints it with henna, hangs a charm about its neck, flogs it along, or prods an open sore with a stick, and leaves its recovery to Allah ; he will not rest it if he can possibly avoid doing so. The raider used to treat his Hausa slave in something the same way, and often one would dearly like to see the owner treated in a similar fashion. Yet one wonders sometimes if the Arab is really so intentionally cruel as he seems to be to us, and whether he really thinks that the animal feels pain, and that he is not treating it in the best way possible ! Even in England there are some cruel and useless " remedies." The Hausa also is callous, and will saddle a horse whatever the condition of its back.

The Hausa of Nigeria is profuse in his salutations,⁶ but in North Africa these have been greatly reduced and altered. There, on meeting an equal, each man will squat and touch his breast three times, murmuring various greetings such as " Hail ! " " How are you ? " " What is the news ? " " How is your household ? " etc.—but not " How are your wives ? " If the men are of unequal status only the inferior squats. If there is a great difference, the inferior may in addition take the right hand of the superior between his two hands and press it. As for the women, every one of them kneels to her husband or other superior, especially when bringing food. In Tunis and Tripoli, however, neither the men nor the women

kneel, and the salutation is a single pressure of the hand without necessarily touching the breast, though a few of the women and fewer still of the men kiss either the fingers of the person saluted while holding the hand, or else they kiss their own first finger after having let the other's hand go. They may even bend right down to the hand. An especially warm salutation is the kiss upon the side of the neck. European women in Tunis and Tripoli are addressed as "Madāma," the Hausa does not like to end his words with a consonantal sound, and he cannot understand that anything—even a vowel—should ever be mute.

They are trying to learn other words from their conquerors—or rather the conquerors of their masters, for the Hausas had no particular love for Tunis or Tripoli; they do not claim to belong to either country—and I was somewhat startled a couple of nights after my arrival in the first-named city. A dilapidated old rascal (see Ill. 50), wearing a cotton cap, a greeny-black twenty-second-hand frock-coat, and a pair of European trousers which had long lost all their buttons, had accompanied me home through the streets much against my will, and after I had bidden him good-night in my best Hausa, he replied, with quite a Parisian accent: "Adieu." Perhaps he thought that it suited his clothes—being a little patch of civilisation which only emphasised the black skin. At any rate, it was the only French word, except *merci*, which he knew.

CHAPTER VIII

BIRTH AND PUBERTY

CHILDREN are much desired, and I suspect that there was once a religious motive as well as the natural ones of protection from the sons and of gain through the marriage of the daughters, but the reason given now is that if a man dies without any children, some, if not all, of his property goes to the chief. On account of this, adoption is recommended, but since the descendants of the adopted son are said to bless the adopting parent, and to remember him at meal-times, I think the reason given in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs* (p. 96)—*i.e.* that the descendants were necessary in order to carry on ancestor-worship—is the correct one.¹

Barren women are not exactly despised, for there are many of them, but they are certainly ridiculed to some extent, and they themselves are always bemoaning their sad fate. At first, various measures will be tried, both Mohammedan and pagan. Thus a charm may be procured from a *mallam*, which may be either a *laiya*—a verse of the Koran, or some other written charm, enclosed in a leather purse—or a drink, or a wash. A *boka* or other wise man will supply one of the latter (probably made from the root of the *bazere* tree), upon reasonable payment. Allah may be invoked, and if He does not hear the prayer, a sacrifice may be made to a *bori*, which, however, according to some, can give nothing of itself, but can only ask Allah's permission. A pilgrimage may also take place to

the tomb of some powerful saint, and a rag may be tied to a tree in the vicinity, while some earth at the roots is collected and brought back, though but few Hausa women do this. Should all these means fail, it is recognised that the woman has not been mated with her *bunsuru* (he-goat), and if both the parties are particularly anxious for children, and the husband can afford it, there will probably be a divorce. There is no belief that a virgin can give birth.

Sometimes a woman will have every sign of pregnancy, and yet at the end of nine months she will not be delivered, but will grow bigger than ever. This is due to the fact that an *iska* (a wind—another name for bori) has played a trick upon her, he having done this because either some jealous woman or else a disappointed lover has got him upon his side. The worst of it is that the particular *iska* can hardly ever be identified and propitiated, for each bori when asked by the diviner will say that it is another one, and thus it is very seldom indeed that the woman is cured.²

The souls of every living thing go to Allah—even those of flies—for He made them and He loves them. Some say that they cannot return and enter the bodies of descendants, although the bori can do so, but the better opinion is that the soul can become reincarnate in the grandchild, while a few say that it can enter even a child of the deceased.

If a woman does conceive, she will procure certain washes and drinks from a boka or a mallam, and when she has used these, she will burn incense for a short time on three consecutive days, taking care to breathe in some of it, and she will pray to Allah, Mohammed, and to Kuri and other bori, to give her a son who will be tall, strong,

and fortunate. The reason of this inhalation is not quite clear. The natural explanation is that the mother thus summons the bori which is to be the child's familiar, but this can hardly be so, for it does not come until after the child has been actually born, for the sex is not known before that time. The idea seems to be rather that the mother frees herself of evil influences than that she attracts good ones, and so the child is affected indirectly, not directly. Except for the facts that white earth must be eaten and that hot tea must not be drunk during the first three months of pregnancy, there seems to be no special diet for a pregnant woman, nor are any preparations made except that firewood is collected so as to provide warm water and fires for the mother. She will sleep (in her turn) with her husband up to the eighth month ; he has no restrictions whatever.

Should a woman in an interesting condition wish for anything, she must be given it immediately. This may be on account of the fear of the evil eye of a woman in such a dangerous state, but the people say not, that otherwise the person refusing would be responsible for any bad results—*e.g.* the birthmarks or little growths on the face of a child.³ Thus Haj Ali knows a man who has molelike excrescences under his eyes, which are due to the fact that his mother when carrying him asked for some grapes from her husband, but he could get none. Things obtained by the expectant mother need not be returned on delivery, but very little is demanded thus, for a woman knows that if she were to ask, she would have to suffer, for one day later on more would be obtained from her. Discolorations come from a similar cause, he says, but another reason for the "port wine stains" on the skin is that a woman's womb burns like fire within, and so, unless great

care is exercised in delivery, the baby is certain to show some signs of it. "Anyone who has touched the entrails of a sacrificed animal knows that the womb is fire, for he will have found them very hot." An Arab girl, Naji, part owner of the house in which Haj Ali lives, has eyes very far apart—she has a Mongolian appearance. This came about because, when carrying her in the womb, her mother went to bathe, and was frightened by a ghost. She returned home, her eyes staring, and so Naji has had to suffer.

Opinions differ as to what happens during pregnancy. For the first forty days the womb contains only water, according to Haj Ali's wife, for the next forty blood, and for the forty days after that a wormlike object. During the following forty days this gradually changes into a human being, though very small "half as big as your finger," and it grows and grows until at the proper time it is born. Another informant says that the child is formed at the end of three months in the case of a female, but not until one hundred and twenty days if a male. Still another account gives the development as above, and adds that the life is then breathed into the foetus for ten days, and when this has been done Allah pushes the womb to the front one night while the woman is asleep. A Hausa on the Gold Coast gives the shortest time with normal women as six months, the longest nine, though some go on for four years if afflicted with a disease.⁴ There is no massaging of the mother at any time during pregnancy.

Some of the Hausas of Tunis, no doubt following the Arabs, procure a black hen during the seventh month of pregnancy, and keep it in the house until labour has begun. It is then taken to the Jews' quarter by one of the old women of the house, who lets it loose there, so that it will

take away any evil bori (not the personal spirit described in Chapter X.) which has been watching for the child's appearance. The idea is that the spirit will have been waiting about, and will have taken possession of the hen, intending to leave it and enter the child as soon as it has been born. As the hen—and the bori in it—is taken and lost in a strange locality, the spirit is supposed not to be able to find its way back, and so it must leave the child in peace. Considering the fact that the bori found the house in the first instance, this explanation seems quite insufficient, and it is possible that at one time there was an element of the changeling theory in the practice.⁵ But as the Hausas borrowed the idea from the Arabs they are unaware of any other signification than that mentioned above, and, after all, one does not expect magical beliefs to be quite logical. Should labour be delayed a charm may be drunk, and a laiya placed or rubbed upon the woman's abdomen, or a draught of water from the *kaskon tsoro*, a brass bowl upon which characters are embossed, may be taken instead or in addition, for it will ensure an easy time for the drinker.⁶

On the delivery of the child, the cord is tied, preferably with red wool, some four inches from the child's body, and is cut with a razor. As with the Arabs, the after-birth may be buried in the garden in the centre of the courtyard if the house is large enough to have one, but in the case of most of the Hausas it is placed in a hole in some waste place, or in an old grave. The stump dries up, and after a little time it falls off, but Mai-Chibi gives many babies umbilical hernia, so any signs of his presence should be watched for. In Nigeria the stump is buried, but in Tunis it is sometimes placed in the child's pillow so as to cause the owner to develop quickly. After about three

years it is placed in a tin to be kept in some secret place; for, if stolen, the child would be injured mentally, though not necessarily in body. In some places it is dried and powdered, being then used as a medicine for sore eyes. If it were burnt, the mother would bear no more children—the last idea being comparable to our belief that burning dressings helps to dry up a wound.

The child is washed in warm water by the midwives in Nigeria, and generally the North African Hausa baby is treated likewise, though it may sometimes only be wiped dry. It is given water to drink for the first few hours, then the milk of its mother. The midwives assist at the delivery, and have to be closely watched, because they try to get the caul should the child be born with one, some people say the sac also. These bring the possessor great luck; in fact, even a small portion is enough, and so they are eagerly bought if for sale. A person having a piece of a caul will not fail in anything, and even if he does evil he will succeed in it, and escape punishment. At the same time it would not save him from drowning, so to some extent English cauls are more valuable—our superstition striking them as being most absurd and amusing! A piece of the sac is not anything like so effective, but some think that it acts in the same way. After delivery the caul (and with some the sac also) is covered with sugar and dried in the sun, and the whole or small pieces of it may be sold.

If the mother should die in labour, no means are taken to save the child; both are buried together, as has been shown elsewhere.⁷ Nor are still-born children treated as if they could be brought to life; for if there is no breath, the child is regarded as being dead, and is buried accordingly. A story is told of a child which was born later of

itself, and, its cries having been heard, it was rescued, and on growing up became a mallam. Should the new-born child arrive normally, however, its head is moulded for some seven days, as has already been said.

Twins and triplets are not common, but they are lucky. Some mothers have been known to have three sets of twins ; Khadejia knew one. In Nigeria, twin sons cannot be stung by scorpions, nor will snakes harm them, but in North Africa, unfortunately, they have no such good fortune. Anyone can pick up scorpions with perfect safety, however, if he takes a certain young plant (*Nonon Kurichiya*, or Dove's Milk), and rubs it between his hands ; and by drinking the juice of this plant, mixed with milk, he can secure general popularity amongst his fellows. He can also catch snakes by pounding up a certain creeper (name unknown), mixing it with water, and rubbing it upon his hands and arms, while pieces of garlic or onion rubbed on the legs will drive snakes away. Should food be on the fire, and should one or both of the twins become angry at something or other, it will not cook until the twins have been appeased, and one has touched the pot. In any case, twins are supposed to be much more intelligent and cunning than ordinary children.

“ In Kabbi (or Kebbi) the new baby was taken upon its first night in the world to a river, and was thrown in, and on the following morning the people of the house went to find it. If it was discovered alive on the bank it was held to be legitimate, but if dead in the water, it was proved a bastard.” The reason was, I understand, that the crocodile was once a totem, and if it accepted the child, and put it back upon the bank, all was well, otherwise there had been treachery. Another man says that the baby was placed upon the bank, not in the water, and this

is certainly the more probable, or rather was, for the practice ceased some time ago.

On the fortieth day the mother boils the root of *dundu* shrub in water, and sprinkles herself with it by dipping in a branch of the *runhu* tree. This is important, for were she to omit it, both she and the child would remain weak. When it has been done she must drink *kunu* (gruel) into which has been put potash ; were she not to do so, mother and baby would always feel cold. A child which cries continually is evidently afflicted by a bori, probably Sa'idi, so it should be held over a pot of incense until quiet—but there must be moderation in this, of course.

The mother takes life easily for forty days in the case of those who are well-to-do, but where the woman has to work for her living she may not be able to afford to lie up at all. At the end of forty days or less she will wash, again sprinkling herself with the *runhu*. The ordinary period of lactation in Nigeria is two years, but sometimes a girl may be weaned at eighteen months ; sometimes, on the contrary, the nursing of a child of either sex may continue for three years. In North Africa six months may be considered sufficient. The period depends mainly upon the circumstances of the parents ; the more wives and concubines the husband has, the greater being the time allowed to each mother—and, of course, something depends upon the woman's desires also. During this period a husband is not supposed to have intercourse with his wife, for if she were to become pregnant again, both the newly conceived child and the one at the breast would grow weak and useless. In North Africa, however, where hardly any of the men have more than one wife, and no concubines, the risk is taken, and a man may sleep with the mother after the forty days are over, though not

before then. In Nigeria, after weaning, she gives her breasts seven days to recover, then she washes, and sleeps with her husband again. During the forty days, men in North Africa will eat food prepared by her, but in Nigeria perhaps not until the child is weaned. The same applies to a woman at certain times.⁸

Children, both Mohammedan and pagan, are named on the seventh day after that of the birth. One name (chosen by the parent) is spoken aloud ; another, given by the mallam, is whispered into the child's ear, and the parents are informed of it afterwards. With some, the secret name is never divulged, but with others the child is known by it after its third year, although it is admitted that the knowledge of the secret name will enable an evil wisher to work the bearer ill. He can do no harm by using the name spoken aloud, except by calling it over a bowl of water, as is described later. The difference, apparently, is merely that the magic worked with the secret name would be much more certain in its effect than that with the ordinary name.

There does not seem to be any other name given at any time, however, though a *kirari*, or form of address, may be bestowed either as an honour or in ridicule. A husband does not use the name of his first wife, nor a wife of her first husband in Nigeria, but in Tunis and Tripoli there is no such restriction, nor is there with the name of the first child. In Nigeria, should a father wish to speak to his eldest child he will do so secretly at night ; he will never be seen talking to him until adult or married, but no such precaution is necessary in regard to the other children,⁹ and none at all is observed in North Africa, not even that respecting the eldest. In Nigeria a wife calls her husband " Master of the House," or something similar ; in the

north she says, "Son of my Mother," because the husband is not master, apparently ; she even calls a second husband by name. In neither country is there any marked objection to using the names of the dead.

A child would probably not receive the name of a grandparent who was alive, nor of his father or her mother even if dead, but this is said to be due simply to the fact that it would not be right to hear the father's or mother's name spoken out loudly by other children. Another informant denies this, and says that there is no such restriction, for he knows of examples to the contrary.

When a mother has had several children who have died young, special care will be taken with the next, for it is recognised that the woman is a *wabi*—i.e. one fated to lose her offspring. One way is as follows. It is taken upon a cloth by the mother and placed disdainfully upon a dung-hill, or upon a heap of dust, and left there by her, she going home and pretending to abandon it. But immediately behind her come friends, who pick it up, and take it back to her. The child will have only one half of its head shaved alternately until adult, and will be called Ajuji (Upon the Dunghill) or Ayashi (Upon the Dust-heap) according to the place upon which it was placed. A mother who thinks this procedure too drastic may call her child Angulu (Vulture) and trust to luck. This dirty bird is said to disgust the spirits, which is somewhat confusing, considering that certain of them, Jato, for instance, is anything but polished, and one bori bears this very name. The real explanation seems to be that the spirits do not want the child because of itself, but merely to punish the mother, and if so her best means of keeping it is to convince them that she would be glad if it went. Brass rings threaded on a string are worn around neck and waist until the child is

adult, and the mother will shave half or the whole of her head, as already described, probably in order to render her unrecognisable by the bori.

Some four or five years after a woman has ceased child-bearing, her youngest child will be called Auta (Tiny), for she knows that the bori Auta or Kulita, "The One who puts an end to birth," has visited her.

For some time special means will be taken to protect the child from the Yayan Jidderi who always attack children. A good method is to place a few ground-nuts and sweets by the child's head at night, and then the young bori will be pleased, and will leave the child in peace. After the sweets have lain there for three days, they are given to a Mai-Bori, such as Salah, so that he may put them in one of his small medicine-pots, and in a few days it will be found that they have been eaten—by the spirits, of course! The mother has to be careful of herself too, else the *tundara*—a bori in the shape of a spotted snake—will drink the milk from her breasts, and so prevent her feeding the child.

Children do not always develop quite normally, and when this is the case a Boka or a Mai-Bori should be consulted so that the parents may know which spirit must be appeased. Abd Allah had no eyebrows for a long time, but the parents, having discovered that "Father Kuri" was angry, sacrificed a red cock and a white hen to him, and lo! the eyebrows began to grow instant! Sometimes a particular dead marabout may be appealed to, the women of the household taking the child to the tomb, where they make it lie down while they rub its body with the blood of a white cock which they have sacrificed, or else with a little of the earth near the tomb. A candle is lighted and incense is burnt before and during this treatment, and a present is made to the guardian of the tomb.

A wife in Nigeria may speak the name of the youth who is to be her first husband, but not after marriage ; in North Africa it does not matter. The name of an important chief should not be mentioned while he is alive, but this prohibition is very often disregarded by irreverent persons who think that they are not being overheard by any of his suite. After death the name may be mentioned with impunity, though with the prefix *Sariki* (Chief).¹⁰

The Magazawa give a child a name which is known only to its parents and to itself later, and one according to the time at which it is born, the latter being known by all. Thus *Chi-Wake* (Eating Beans) arises through the owner having been born when beans were being eaten by the other people in the house, and the name *Ta-Roro* (Grubbing) informs all and sundry that he who bears it made his first appearance when the ground-nuts, etc., were being gathered in. The Mohammedan Hausas also sometimes call a child after the season or even by the name of the day of the week upon which it was born.

Infanticide has been treated of fully in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*. The people here confirm the statements that virgins were once offered to Dodo, and that albinos were sacrificed by chiefs before going to war, but they deny any knowledge as to whether these latter were eaten or not.¹¹ The fact that the mother will not allow the father to see her nursing her eldest child may be a survival from the time when the first-born was put to death.

Should an unmarried girl become pregnant, she will take drugs to restore her regularity, but this is said to be very uncommon, and it seems certain that some regular drink is taken before or after each act to prevent trouble arising, so abortion and child-murder must happen but seldom.

The Hausa girls are not kept in like their Arab sisters, and so they have many more opportunities of giving way to free love if they desire to do so—and they are not by any means moral.

Adoption must be free and open. If the child has a father, it is necessary to obtain his consent. If the child is small and is in the charge of a paternal uncle, the latter must agree. In the case, however, of an adult male who is married, or of one who has no father, his own consent is sufficient, but this must be either in writing which is witnessed or spoken openly before several people. Before it has been given there is no relationship, but afterwards, the youth becomes a full member of the family, and is subject to the usual prohibitions regarding marriage, retaining, however, the disabilities of his own blood relationship with his former family.

There seem to have been no elaborate ceremonies of initiation for everyone, even in the past in Nigeria, and there are certainly none in North Africa. A girl is instructed in wifely duties, a boy in the elements of his profession, but there is not much else done. Circumcision was practised long before the introduction of Islam, so it was part of an old initiation, in all probability. Girls also were excised in some districts, Kano, for instance, and I am told that this still holds good with some clans—*e.g.* the Mujiga. I do not know the name; they are said to be pagan Hausas who pierce their lips and knock out the two bottom front teeth. These are rather strange customs for Hausas, and I much doubt the purity of their blood, and also that of the pagan girls of Kano.

Children in Nigeria, after having been weaned, are taken by their paternal or even their maternal uncles to be educated, and they may remain under their charge until

grown up in the case of a youth, until marriage in the case of a girl. They become practically the children of their guardians (whose own children have gone to another relative), and are disciplined and taught what is necessary for them to learn. The schools are conducted by mallams, and the young sons and often also the daughters of the most important men are taught to read and write, the education being continued as long as is necessary. In the case of the boys destined to become mallams, they live with one of these learned men for some years, and are taught to recite portions of the Koran by heart. The class begins early in the morning, all the pupils repeating the verses together in a high tone. The education is much the same for the children of all grades, but the more money there is forthcoming, the greater the amount of instruction given, naturally.

Children are expected to be respectful towards their seniors, being punished when not so, and if a child were continually disobedient he might even be sent from home. Girls are not well guarded in certain parts of Nigeria, but in North Africa more care is taken of them, and in any case they are not supposed to know too much. Hausa children of both sexes are much more respectful in West than they are in North Africa.

There are various exercises and sports practised by the boys, boxing, wrestling, shooting with toy bow and arrow, horse-racing, etc., and when out hunting or fishing they are given instruction by those in whose charge they are, or by their deputies. Those youths who are to become metal workers, huntsmen, etc., undergo a kind of apprenticeship somewhat similar to that of those who desire to be mallams, though probably it will be less rigorous and lengthy.

All children are taught folk-tales, proverbs and word-

games, and though most of them affect to despise the first and last when adult, a great knowledge of proverbs is thought very highly of by everyone.¹² Music and dancing are learnt mainly by watching the older performers, but the drum signals are taught.

A girl is not secluded at her first menstruation, so she is not prevented from seeing the sun or fire ; she does her ordinary work. But the food which she prepares will not be eaten by males, except in North Africa. Should menstruation come on during the fast (*Azumi*) she will at once return to her ordinary food, and will eat it for the period during which the courses last. Then she will again fast, continuing to do so for a number of days after the other people have ceased equal to the number which she has missed. Sometimes the flow may be delayed or much increased by an enemy—*e.g.* by a rejected youth who is taking his revenge. In the latter case three pieces of the root of the *Sabara*, *Magariya* and *Kalgo* trees are taken, and are pounded up and soaked in water, which, when saturated, is mixed with guinea-corn flour and made into a kind of porridge. If the girl takes this for seven days she will be well, so it is said. Another method is to drink the ink washed off a charm obtained from a mallam. If the girl has grown big, and no flow has appeared, she will take the bark of the *Durimi* tree, pound it up, mix it with water, and drink it for seven days. If not then successful, she will repeat the treatment, and will continue doing so until the desired result is attained. If it is her special male bori (see p. 118) who is stopping the course of nature she will endeavour to find out why he is annoyed with her, and to appease him, though she can guess that the real reason is that he does not want her to mature, and so marry and leave him.¹³

Girls were at one time the strictest censors of their sex, apparently, for once a week, according to Haj Ali, the marriageable maidens in Gobir used to meet, and each would collect a calabash of earth. They would then sit down, and the principal girl would cause one of them to make an examination of all the others. If anyone was found guilty, her fellows beat her with switches, and then they marched to her house and deposited their calabashes of earth at her door, singing of the discovery which they had made.¹⁴ Soon, someone would take the news to the chief of the city, and he would send for the girl and her parents and uncles. He would ask the girl and her parents whether the news was true, and if they desired it, he would have her examined by an old woman. If the latter reported that the girl "had become a woman," the chief would make the girl say who had seduced her. The guilty man might have had warning and have got away, but some of his relatives would be seized, and they and the girl's people made to pay a fine under a threat of selling the girl and the boy, when caught, into slavery—a little unfair, considering that the chiefs were never noted for having any virtue of their own.

In some parts, some half-dozen each of boys and girls who had not yet matured were shut up in a large house a month before the harvest, both sexes wearing a leather loin-covering, and were stuffed with food and with various medicines for one month. They were taught bori dancing on seven consecutive nights, and were then allowed to rest for four nights. They were also instructed in what was due to the totem of their clan, and sacrifices were made to Kuri, Uwargwona and other bori. They were forced to eat a lot so as to have strength enough to dance, but were not allowed to sleep together. On the last day, a big feast

commenced, being continued for seven days, and during this time either a boy or a girl died, "having been taken by the bori." After the feast, an old man would lead the youths to the forest and wash them medicinally, while an old woman did the same to the girls, and all the children were then allowed to return to their parents. One child was always taken by the bori, so the parents were very anxious during the time that their children were undergoing the treatment, and only one or two out of each family entered the house; the others learned about the kan-gida later by watching those who had been initiated into the mysteries in the manner described. After the children had been liberated, the harvest was gathered in.

According to a recent account of this rite—the *Fita Furra*, or better, the *Fittan Fura*¹⁵—an equal number of boys and girls were in the autumn shut up together in an enclosure, and left there for a month. Food was taken to them by an attendant, the expense of which was borne by some rich man in the belief that he thereby conferred a benefit upon the community. At the end of that time, any of the girls who were found to be enceinte were considered to be the wives of the youths with whom they had lived while in the enclosure. Sacrifices were made before a pole, a *jigo* or *gausami*, and the whole rite was probably practised to secure fecundity in the clan. A third description appears in Chapter XIV.

The first account above was given me by Haj Ali, who had been through the *Fittan Fura*; the third by Auta; and both said that it was to promote good harvests. Haj Ali's statement that the boys and girls did not live together applied only to the people of Gobir (he said that they did so in other parts, however), and there must be some truth in it, because the girls are stated to be young, and no licence is

ever allowed just before or during any of the bori dances. It appears likely too that the child whom the bori seized was really sacrificed—probably to Magiro or Uwal-Gwona—in order to secure good crops, for Magiro demanded human victims. In other districts it is almost certain that intimate relations were allowed—the Hausas, it must be remembered, are a mixture of peoples. Two stories which seem to bear upon the subject certainly support this view (though these give another variant, for only one boy and one girl are shut up together—probably a test of fitness for marriage), and it is quite possible that the rite there was to promote the fecundity of the clan rather than the fertility of the fields. But the two ideas often go together, and in any case, the accounts are quite reconcilable, for the native thinks that whereas at certain times his amours make the ground fertile, at others by his continence he fortifies not only his own body (*e.g.* with a view to wrestling) but also the vegetation—in both cases by the means of sympathetic magic. As we may see in the folk-lore, the life of a man may be bound up with that of a tree, and this is not surprising when we remember that Earth is the mother of all her living offspring, both animal and vegetable. The rites for fertility in both kingdoms may be the same, therefore, for to a people which knows how to fertilise date-palms, the idea that plants marry like human beings is only natural. In fact, the spathe of the male palm is a symbol of human fertility. If ordinary mortals can influence the population and the crops, how much more will the guardian spirit of the clan be able to do so? Hence the necessity for ensuring that its temporary habitations—the totem animal and the king—shall be in their prime.

CHAPTER IX

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

A FULL account of marriage, divorce, the relations of husband and wife, and other subjects, as far as regards Nigeria, has been given elsewhere,¹ and it is unnecessary to repeat that here. But in several cases there are some differences noticeable in North Africa, and it would be advisable to mention these, as well as a few other points of interest. If a youth wishes to show a maiden that he wants to marry her, but is afraid to ask, he may send her a little packet of charcoal (to show that his heart is black), and sugar—which signifies how she appears to him. If she reciprocates she will keep the sugar (to show that her heart is white), but will return the charcoal. If undesirous of his advances, she will return both. Kola-nuts are always included in the dainties for the marriage feast, and form a part of the preliminary present when available, but they are used for proposing less honourable relationships also. “If you desire a woman, particularly someone else’s wife, send her ten nuts, one of which you have previously split almost in two. If she rejects your advances she will return the whole lot ; but if she is willing to respond to your advances, she will keep nine and return the split one with a piece bitten off. If she has had only a small bite, you are to go to her house, if a large part she will come to you.” There is but little doubt that in some parts prostitution was once practised by young girls as a means for procuring a dowry.

Formerly in Nigeria, if an unmarried youth wished to marry a girl, he would just ask her consent, and if she was agreeable he would get the companion who is to be best man, or "bridegroom's friend," to tell his father's brother, for he would be too much ashamed of such desires to tell his own parent—this, however, is not usually the case nowadays. The uncle would go to the younger brother of the girl's father, and between them they would arrange the details—supposing all parties were agreeable—and the girl would then be betrothed. Or perhaps the parties to the marriage might have been promised in infancy, and even if both contracting parents had died, the guardians would consider that the engagement must be carried out unless the youth (or in Nigeria, perhaps, the maiden) objected. In Tunis and Tripoli, the youth is not ashamed to tell his parent, and the latter arranges the marriage, which may be at any time except during the season just after Moharem, called *Wowo*. No kola-nuts are sent in Tunis, where they are very rare; the gifts consist only of ornaments and other articles, including European-made furniture.

In Tunis, five days before the date fixed, the bridegroom's hands and feet are stained with henna, the operator coming to his house for the purpose. The bride's hands and feet also are stained by a woman who specialises in the art, and a feast commences at her father's or uncle's house. The faces of many of her female relatives may be painted with dabga, the eyebrows receiving special attention, and figures representing either a double hand or else the spathe of the male palm—a symbol of fertility—are painted upon the walls of the house. The staining is repeated upon the two following nights, and the feast goes on for one night more, but on the fifth, a feast is held at

the bridegroom's father's house, and during the evening the bride is brought to her husband's house by her mother, and is accompanied by the henna woman, and the bridesmaids. After she has settled down, the father pushes the



FIG. 6.—Design painted with Dabga upon a Woman's Face at certain Festivals



FIGS. 7 and 8.—Front View and Back View of the Staining of the Hand of a Girl when her Hair is put into a Plait

son into the room, and he says a prayer there, but comes out again immediately, and goes elsewhere to sleep.

Next morning the girl's mother and the junior bridesmaids leave at daybreak, and the bridegroom, accom-

panied by his best man, goes to the market and buys a fish, which is carried by the best man, and about eight A.M. they proceed to the house in which the bride has passed the night. There the best man knocks, and the chief bridesmaid or "bride's friend" (or, according to a less probable account, the henna woman) takes the bride by her hand, and leads her to the door. The best man then puts the fish into the bridegroom's hand and extends it towards the bride, and the bridesmaid having seized the bride's hand in a similar manner, and made her take it, the men go away. The bride throws the fish upon the floor, as if refusing to have anything to do with it, but the bridesmaid picks it up, and cooks it, and they eat some of it, the rest being divided between the bridegroom and best man, who come again at midday. The men eat it sitting upon the floor of the room—the bride has previously climbed on to the bed at one end—and after the meal, the best man goes away, the bridesmaid leaving about the same time. According to another account, the bride waits upon them during the meal, and washes their hands afterwards. The bridegroom is then free to consummate the marriage, but he will not live openly with his bride until several days have elapsed, on account of the "shame" which he is expected to make a pretence of feeling. On the seventh day, another feast is held at the bridegroom's father's house, and the new household settles down to the ordinary manner of life.

In Nigeria, the newly made benedict may not go near his bride for a few days, and when he does, he is accompanied by his best man, who approaches the bride first, but things are changing there, for I am told that thirty or forty years ago the bridegroom might not live

with her openly for a month or more, though he would visit her secretly at night. Both parties to the marriage are seized by their relatives, and forcibly stained, the exact time being unknown to them. They are supposed to try to escape this, and, when eventually caught, to resist vigorously, as if they had no wish to be married.

In Tripoli, according to Tanko, the customs are different. After the bride has been brought to her husband's room, she sits on a chair surrounded by her bridesmaids, and candles are lit around her. The bridegroom enters alone, and she gives him a little piece of a present of sugar which he has previously sent her, and he then hands her a piece, this being done in absolute silence.² He then gives money to the bridesmaids, and they go away, leaving the bride and bridegroom alone together. He speaks to her, but she does not reply, and it is only after he has given her a present of cloth or money that she will consent to do so. He then sleeps with her, the drummers, all women apparently, keeping up their music in the courtyard until late at night. Early next morning the bridegroom goes out and buys a cake (*fankasu*) made of wheat-flour and honey, and brings it to the bride, who, however, divides it amongst her bridesmaids who come to greet her. Later in the day there will be a feast—provided by the bridegroom—to the musicians and others, and the ceremonies are over unless the family is rich enough to provide more money for the drummers and more food for the guests.

There are several points of interest in the foregoing. First, there are the important rôles played by the best man and chief bridesmaid, and it is possible that at one time these characters had even more important duties to perform, for amongst the Hausas of the Hinterland of the Gold Coast, and of the north of Northern Nigeria, the

bride's friend is veiled and made to ride about (upon a mare, if possible), she being then called the "False Bride," while the real one is being taken to her husband's house, the original idea being, in all probability, to distract attention from the latter.³ It is a common belief in North Africa that should an enemy call a bridegroom while riding to his bride, and he reply and look around, if the enemy closes a knife held open in readiness, the bridegroom will be rendered impotent ; so his relatives accompany him to protect him against possible ill-wishers.⁴ It is, therefore, not impossible that the custom is a Mohammedan one, introduced by the Filani or other Moslem invaders, performed in order to avoid danger of this kind. But since it is not considered necessary in North Africa but only in the Black Country, and since the object in the Gold Coast is said to be the distraction of the attention of evil spirits, it is more probable that the practice is the survival of an early pagan custom, instituted in order to deceive the jealous bori, which, as is shown on p. 109, is unwilling to give up its human mistress. In some parts we have what seems to be a contradiction, for the bride is conducted to her new abode with a great noise. This, however, is done in all probability to frighten off the other evil influences, for all spirits hate a horrid din, though sweet music may attract them.

The protection of the bride and bridegroom against their respective sexual bori, therefore, seems to have been very thorough originally. First there is the fact that neither party informed the parents, in each case it was the uncles who arranged the contract, and it was the best man who made the first move ; secondly, both parties were stained with henna, being forcibly seized by friends, and stained, as it were, against their wills, and to their great

surprise ; thirdly, a false bride attracted the attention of the jealous bori ; fourthly, the bride was veiled ; fifthly, the bridegroom vacated his house, and visited his wife only in secret ; sixthly, the best man and not the bridegroom made the first advances to the bride ; and seventhly, two fowls are still given by the parents in some parts, possibly the survival of a former sacrifice. The false bride has no place amongst the Hausas of Tunis and Tripoli, and it may be that contact with the Arabs has led them to believe that they can escape most of the danger by obtaining the consent of the familiar bori in advance, but the general evil influences would not be appeased thus, so the noise and staining still goes on, though the element of surprise has been eliminated. Tanko says that the false bride in Nigeria can perform marvellous feats, being able to throw herself down from great heights without injury—but that is exactly what a person possessed by a strange bori is supposed to be able to do, and we may conclude, therefore, that the jealous bori goes off with her.

The bride is always accompanisd to her new home by a number of bridesmaids of about the same age as herself, and the bride screams and resists. In *Hausa Superstitions and Customs* I supposed this to be a survival of marriage by capture, but it may be no more than a protest by the girls of her age-grade, particularly as they drive the bridegroom away until bribed by him.

The fish is a well-known symbol of fertility. With the so-called Jews of Constantinople, the bride and bridegroom jump three times over a large platter filled with fish, or else seven times backwards and forwards over one, and this is said to be a prayer for children.⁵ The Jews of Tunis are stated to have a curious custom. At the first meal after the marriage, the bride places a cooked fish

before her husband, and he finds that he cannot carve it. She then tries, and accomplishes the task, the reason being that she has stuffed it with two wooden rings, placed end to end, at her mother's suggestion, and so knows where to divide it.⁶ It is not impossible, therefore, that there is a connexion between the custom of the Jews of Constantinople and that of the Hausas of Tunis ; at any rate, with the latter also the gift is surely a symbol of fertility, the natural modesty of the maiden making her throw it upon the ground. The sugar also, and possibly the cake of the Tripolitan bridegroom must have a similar signification. Elsewhere it has been found amongst Hindu and Mohammedan women that during and previously to pregnancy, they receive gifts of rice, and sweets, and sometimes the women (if already pregnant) divide them amongst their kinswomen—including the young girls—the idea being to convey similar fertility to all of them.⁷

In Tunis, amongst the Arabs, little cakes are made in the shape of fish and also of snakes, and this seems to leave no doubt at all upon the subject.

There is no breaking of pots or tearing of the door-mat as in Northern Nigeria. If the bride be found to have been "already a wife," the husband simply drives the girl away, and locks his door, keeping not only everything that she has brought, but also getting back his money and other presents from her parents. Formerly, a blacksmith in Nigeria, who married a blacksmith's daughter, had quite an exciting test. On the night that she was taken to his house, he would heat a piece of iron in the fire until red-hot, and with her veil he would bind it to her back in the position to be occupied by a child. If she was a virgin, the iron would scorch neither her nor her veil, although left until cool, but if not, she would be

burnt at once. Auta says that a man who was not a blacksmith would not allow his daughter to be tested thus, because he would not know the proper charm to give her—an ordinary girl would certainly be burnt.

A Mohammedan Hausa has the right to marry the daughter of his father's brother, and he will pay less for her, but not the daughter of his mother's brother, of his father's sister, nor of his mother's sister, though he may marry even the last of these if both parties agree, at any rate in North Africa. He may not marry his father's or his mother's sisters. In Nigeria these rules do not apply to the Magazawa, though they do in certain respects to the Mohammedan Hausas, but the code seems to vary in different districts, and no doubt the matter is often one of mere family arrangement, for a youth would obey his father's commands. The Mohammedan may not marry two full or half-sisters while the first of the two is alive, but the pagan may marry two half-sisters unless they are of the same mother. He may marry a younger full sister after the death of an elder, but not vice versa, and not after her divorce, I am told. A foster-mother stands in the same position as a real mother as far as regards marriage amongst the Mohammedan Hausas, but not amongst the Magazawa.

The Mohammedan Hausas are bound by the laws of Islam, of course, but the pagans are not, and may have as many wives as they can afford; there is no polyandry, however. In Tunis and Tripoli, each wife is entitled to two nights in turn, a bride seven for the first time, and the same applies to the Mohammedan Hausas in Nigeria, but the Magazawa sleep with them as they please. In North Africa, should a wife be unable to take her two days, she would sleep at the opposite end of the room to him,

but where each wife has a separate hut, she may lean a stalk of guinea-corn against her doorway, if not inclined to give the information verbally, and the husband must then sleep in his own hut alone.

The children of wives and concubines are legitimate amongst the Mohammedan Hausas, and share in the inheritance according to the Maliki code—or sometimes the Hanafi, in North Africa—but the offspring of any other woman would be illegitimate, even if the father had raped the mother. The reason is as follows: “If you buy a mare, all her foals are yours, but if you borrow one the foal is not yours, it belongs to the person from whom you borrowed the mare.” The first-born son of any wife is the eldest son, and ranks accordingly, but the first wife is the chief, or Uwar-Gida (Mother of the House), and is in charge of the others. Should the first wife be a poor girl, and the second the daughter of a chief, however, they would each be assigned special duties by the husband. But probably the chief would insist upon a man divorcing his first wife so that there would be no doubt as to the position of his daughter.

At one time it was almost certain death to be convicted of adultery with a chief's wife. Sariki Dan Baskore, however, was once lenient when he found a youth living in his harem. Two years previously, a part of the main wall of the palace had fallen in, and the youth, one of those engaged in repairing it, had been kept hidden ever since. Instead of killing him and the guilty women, Dan Baskore said that a youth who could outwit him was well worth keeping alive, so he gave him rank in the army, and those members of his household who had conceived by him were sent to live with him. Dan Baskore did not regret his action, for the youth won great renown

as a soldier in his service, and attained the rank of Magaji.

Judging by the folk-lore, there was evidently at one time a prohibition upon the crossing of running water by spirits, though that is said not to be the case now—but there seems to have been no idea of conception by bathing. At the same time, supposing a pregnant woman were to enter water, the spirit might decide to marry the child later if it turned out to be a girl. The mother would not know this at the time, but later on, when the girl grew up, and her parents wanted to marry her off, she would refuse, and say that she did not want anyone. If she persisted in this state of mind, the parents would know that she was not normal, and would secure the services of a Mai-Bori. This person would find out what had happened, and which bori had claimed her, and would pay the spirit on her behalf; or the aid of a mallam or of a boka would be enlisted, and he would release her altogether. Judging by the foregoing, it is probable that Dodo, in the story in which he arrives at the marriage-feast of the girl promised to him, and is slain only by the means of a heavenly knife, is an incubus.⁸

Many stories exist of marriages between human beings and animals, and it is probable that they refer to a totemistic stage, and that when the marriage turns out unhappily it is because there has been some insult offered to the totem of the spouse. Of course, many animals can turn themselves into human beings for a time, and they may even mix with ordinary people and not be found out, but a hunter who is expert in charms will recognise them, and sometimes will shoot them even in the market-place, and, when wounded and dying, the animal will gradually take on its bestial form again. In Nigeria, many hunters

and others can turn themselves into animals, but not here, because the charms have been forgotten. All the inhabitants of at least one city can become hyenas at pleasure, according to many informants.

A man may eat food in his mother-in-law's house, but his wife should not eat in his father's house until after the second or even the third child is born, though this rule has often to be modified or even abrogated in North Africa.⁹ A man may see his mother-in-law eating, because she is like his own mother, and he has seen the latter doing so. "If your father or father-in-law comes to see you, he should be given his food first, but if you go to see him you will probably eat with him—unless your food is sent to your own hut," and this does not happen in North Africa.

Formerly, in Nigeria, a bridegroom walking along a road would run and hide if he saw his first mother-in-law approaching, because he would be ashamed for her to see him. If he could not get away, he would bend his head, or even squat down and not look at her until she had passed. She, on her part, would pretend not to have seen him. Later on, or after the birth of the second or third child, he would not run away from her; but he should always be respectful. He would not avoid subsequent mothers-in-law, and in North Africa he would not mind meeting even the first.

The elder sister of the wife should be avoided in the same way, but not the younger, according to one informant; another says that both should be avoided (and this is more likely, judging by the folk-lore), but the rule does not hold in North Africa. A woman would run from a man who was to be her father-in-law, but when he had become a grandfather for the second or third time she would not mind him

so much. Brothers and sisters eat together when young, but a boy who has been circumcised eats with the men, not with women and children. A younger brother should not sit in the same circle as his eldest brother, and he certainly should not argue with him in public. However, all of these rules are observed much more strictly in Nigeria than in North Africa, and, in fact, in Tunis no one minds these things. "What manners, indeed, *can* poor people afford to have?"

CHAPTER X

DEATH AND THE AFTER-LIFE

THE death of a Hausa mortal may be brought about in many ways. Bodily injuries and diseases may be caused by Allah, in which case none but a mallam can cure the patient, and even he only with the proper medicines or words, etc., from the Koran, the ink being washed off with water, and drunk. It is very much more likely to be a bori, however, who is working the evil by drinking the blood of the victim, and it should be appeased by the proper sacrifice which is indicated by one of the members of the bori sect (see p. 258), the list of disease demons (Chapters XXI.-XXVIII.) being long enough to include most illnesses. Then there is the wizard (*maiye*) or witch (*maiya*), who catches the soul and eats it, and a mallam or a boka is the only one who can save the patient. Lastly, there are the persons with the evil eye (*mugun ido*), and those with the evil mouth (*mugun baki*), which though much the same can be distinguished, for whereas you can usually see the former, you do not always see the latter, because he wishes you evil under his breath, and it may not be until you have reached home that you become ill and know that someone has been jealous of you—*e.g.* has seen that you can work much better than he can. The hand, *kham*s, “five” (fingers), protects one against both of these persons if used in time; if not, then a boka will give the correct remedy.

Often, however, a person dies in spite of all the precau-

tions taken, for perhaps the real cause is not discovered until too late, or perhaps Allah has decided that his time has come, and then the relatives and friends gather round and wait for the end, some of them assisting the patient as best they know how. When a Mohammedan Hausa dies, the body is stripped and washed, and, after having been wrapped in a white shroud (*likafani*), it is placed upon its right side, the right arm under the head. In the case of rich men, a new white robe, trousers, cap, and turban may be put on under the *likafani*, and frankincense may be used, though the body is not preserved in any way. On the morrow, the funeral will take place, so the body is wrapped in a mat, and placed upon a bier, and is carried to the grave by men, whatever the sex of the deceased. The women do not go to the grave until the following day, generally, though they may walk behind the male mourners and sit some distance away during the ceremonies in some parts. The procession does not move slowly, as with us. On the contrary, the obsequies are hurried through, so that if he has been good, the deceased may the sooner attain happiness; if evil, in order that his influence may be removed. The bearers are changed frequently both for the above reason, and also because they derive spiritual advantage from the sad duty. If funds are forthcoming, the bier may—in Tunis, at any rate—be strapped upon the back of a donkey for the homeward journey.

The grave is oblong in shape and some eight feet long and four feet wide at the mouth, suddenly narrowing a few feet down to the size just sufficient to take the corpse. Some four men enter it, and, taking the body from the bearers, place it in the narrow trench upon its right side and with the head to the south, so that it faces towards the east. Then they climb out, and, sticks having been

placed over the trench (resting upon the ledge), grass is spread on top of them. Some earth is sprinkled over the grass, and then kneaded earth or clay is smeared over the whole in order to make it more or less secure. After this has been done, the earth removed from the grave is heaped on top, so there is no loose earth touching the body. Nothing is buried with it, nothing is burnt. The Hausas do not let their tears fall upon the corpse, nor do they cut or scratch themselves like some of the Arabs. The mourners pray by the side of the grave, the women, if present, being apart from the men, and upon their return must wash their hands. When all is over, the property of the deceased is divided up as has been described elsewhere.¹

In North Africa, a slab of marble, or a layer of bricks and cement, or even mud, will be placed over the grave, and an erection supposed to resemble a fez and turban is reared over the head if the deceased has been a man, a plain slab like a slate being substituted in the case of a woman. Sometimes one similar to the latter may be erected over the feet also, and nowadays, epitaphs are written upon the stones at the head. A hole for offerings is made through the large slab, sometimes at the head, I am told, as is the case in the Fiyum and in the Congo,² but usually above the stomach. In the Mohammedan cemeteries at Tunis and Tripoli all of the holes which I have noticed are in the middle, but many of them are merely shallow indentations in the slabs, and are not really holes. Over the grave of a marabout will be erected a four-pillared dome, or *kuba*, such as is seen in Ill. 16. Except when in a recognised cemetery, they are usually at the tops of hills, but this is by no means always the case.

In North Africa, the graves are in regularly constituted cemeteries, though the rulers (e.g. the Beys of Tunis) may



13.—A funeral at Kairwan.
14.—Arab and Hausa graves.

have a special mausoleum. In Nigeria, too, a chief or a rich man may be buried in his own compound, and his wives and children will be placed there, also a concubine if he has been sleeping with her just before he died, but slaves, unless they have obtained high office—a common occurrence in Nigeria—and poor people are buried in shallow graves outside the town.³ Any grave, except that of a chief, may be reopened after some fifteen years or so, for there will be nothing left of the body by then, and another corpse may be interred, it does not matter whose. As nothing valuable is placed in the graves, they are not robbed, but the bodies of poor people are usually carried off by hyenas—or rather “by people who have transformed themselves into these animals”—which dig down until under the level of the sticks. It would not be dangerous to step upon a grave, except in North Africa, perhaps, so far as injury by ghosts is concerned, but the relatives of the deceased would not like it.

In Tunis, Hausas make no change in their dress when in mourning; in fact, great grief is shown by keeping the clothes on for several days, though they will wear white at the funeral, but women, if they can afford it, don white, or sometimes black, I am told. No man must shave his head in less than seven days afterwards; many will not do so until after forty days, and some do not even cut their nails or wash, but this applies with less force to the women; though a mother in Nigeria who has lost three children, running, will shave only one side of her head; if four, the whole. In the case of the death of a parent or a child, a married couple may discontinue relations for a short time, but whether this is from a religious reason or simply because “the heart is black” is not apparent, the latter being the one now given. There is no special abstin-

ence from food—though “is one whose heart is broken able to feast?”—but from the day of the death until two days after the funeral, no corn is pounded, and no food is cooked in the house, it being brought by relatives or friends outside. On the third day after the death, however, there is a feast in the house, all the mourners and mallams being invited, and the latter read portions of the Koran. On the third day after this, there is another feast, one again on the fortieth day, and still another on the anniversary. During the first four days, the real mourners are not supposed to sleep, and they remain in the house of death, but the first feast relieves them of this restriction. One man told me that tales are told to keep the people awake, but I was unable to verify this.

Some tombs—*e.g.* those of marabouts or mallams—there have been several from West Africa—are very sacred, and people (both men and women) offer goats and fowls there, asking for favours at the same time, as is explained later. A *sadaka* (not a sacrifice originally) may be made upon the anniversary of the death of anyone who is not a marabout, and perhaps this is the character of the offering to the marabout also. On Fridays, offerings are made to the dead of bread and water, which are placed in the holes mentioned above, and even flowers are placed upon the tombs, especially those of children, as is shown in Ill. 14. Orange-peel, too, can be seen upon one of the slabs, the mourners having eaten the fruit, and although this is evidence of a careful economy, it is sufficient to refute the statements often heard that Mohammedans do not care for their dead, and that they have no hope in a future life, the latter seeming to show an extraordinary disregard for the teaching of Islam. Another idea which this custom disproves is that women have no souls, a

myth often insisted upon as true by interested persons. There is no idea nowadays that the ghost eats these offerings ; the Hausa has no doubt that they are taken by the birds and ants, but the ghost knows by these signs that it has not been forgotten, and it is thus made happy. But, as we shall see, the soul often takes the form of a bird (an old Egyptian idea) and it is quite possible that it was this particular one and not *any* bird which took the offerings.⁴

In considering the doctrine of souls, we are faced with an extraordinary medley of beliefs. All human beings, animals, plants, and big rocks have a permanent soul (*kuruwa*) and a familiar bori of the same sex, and, in addition, young people have a temporary bori of the opposite sex, while all living things have two angels (*malaika*) in attendance. Small stones are soulless, and so are those large ones which are deep in the earth, "for they are evidently dead," else they would not have been buried. The soul has a shape like that of the body which it inhabits, and it dwells in the heart, but where it comes in and out of the body is not known. It is not the shadow (*ennuwa*), for it cannot be seen, and in fact the *ennuwa* is the shadow both of the body and of the soul. Yet the word *kuruwa* is sometimes loosely used for shadow, and there is evidently some connexion, for a wizard can pick the soul out of it. Neither is it the breath, for when a person sleeps his soul wanders about ; in fact, it does so even when a person is day-dreaming. "If you dream, you know when you wake that your soul has been to visit the people and places seen, for the soul can travel as quickly as a bori." For this reason, however suddenly one awakened a person, he could not do so before the soul had returned, for it would know directly one touched its body, and would be there as quick

as thought unless detained, as is explained later. But another opinion is that one so often found—namely, that the soul can be caught napping—and that the person will feel heavy for some time after, until, in fact, the soul has got back properly.

There was once a belief in an external soul, as certain stories (*Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, 29, and p. 132) show, but it seems to have died out now as regards the people generally, though it may persist still amongst some of the more backward Magazawa. However, with the Hausas as with us, the science of yesterday may be but the folk-lore of to-day, and as the book upon that subject deals with this point, there is no need to consider it further here.

The kuruwa can be summoned by an enemy by magical means, as is described in Chapter XIII., but it can also be caught by a wizard (maiye) or witch (maiya), and unless it be rescued, the wizard or witch will eat it, and so kill the owner. Luckily, there are people who can prevent this unless summoned too late—viz. the mallam and the boka. The bori cannot be caught thus ; it can be injured only by another bori, and then one of the Masu-Bori can help. When a man is once dead, nothing will bring the soul back, and it is useless to try anything, for it is evident that the time appointed by Allah has come. The soul, after a period in the Well of Life, goes to Allah, as do the angels, but the bori flies off to the bush, and mixes with the others there, unless it goes to some other person, preferably, but not necessarily, a descendant. The body rots, for it does not matter what happens to it. The soul and the bori may revisit their old haunts temporally, and in fact they do so. The soul will never belong to any other body, according to some, though others hold that it may reappear

in a child, or even a grandchild, and at any rate the bori may do so, but neither will transmigrate into an animal.

Haj Ali says that the soul is in the shadow, and that it is caught in the following manner. If a wizard sees a person whom he wishes to injure coming along, he will wait near a stone or a wall, or close to any projection upon which the shadow of the enemy must fall as he passes. When this has happened, the wizard at once claps his hand upon the shadow, and picks out the soul, keeping it in his fist until he has reached his house, when he quickly places a vessel over his hand and transfers the soul to it—as one does a rare beetle.

The person who has thus lost his kuruwa may not know of it for a little time, but he soon begins to feel ill, although no disease or injury is apparent, and upon his saying this, he is asked whom he met upon his way home. In North Africa all he can do is to seek some counter influence,⁵ but in the olden time in Nigeria, when he had pronounced the name of someone thought to be inimical, his men-folk would start for the person's house, and accuse him of having taken the soul of their father, brother, or other relative, as the case may have been. Probably the wizard would deny this, and if so, an accusation would be laid before the *Sarikin Maiyu* (Chief of the Wizards), who would summon the accused, together with other known wizards, to come to the sick man's house. A large basin of water would then be brought in, and placed upon the fire, and each of the wizards would be asked to poke the fire, but somehow only the guilty one would consent to do so. They would then be asked to drink up the water, and again all would fail but the offender, "for in his case the thirsty soul of the sick man would drink too, and so he would be able to hold a lot." This would be held to be

sufficient proof, and the Sarikin Maiyu would order him to be bound up, and would demand to be told where the soul was. If the offender did not tell even then, he would be flogged, and sooner or later he would direct the people around him to get a certain vessel out of his house, and bring him and it to the sick man. When this had been done, the wizard would tap the other with his hand, and the soul would fly back to him, and he would rise again thoroughly well. No one would see the soul, of course, but the man's recovery would be quite sufficient proof of what had happened. Considering the credulity of the Hausa, it is easy to imagine that the alleged restoration of the soul really did cause the ailing person to feel well again, but, after all, we can quite understand that.

The Sarikin Maiyu was appointed by the Chief of the town upon the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief—there is generally a *Sarikin Barawo* (King of the Thieves) also. He was always a noted soul-eater, and was threatened on appointment that he would be put to death if he ever ate another one. He knew all the other wizards in the town, and since it was to his interest to prevent deaths by witchcraft—for he might be accused of complicity, did any occur—he would always be certain to catch the real offender—or, at any rate, he would see that someone was punished, and that was just as efficacious as far as the victim was concerned.

Sometimes a person is thirsty during the night, but is too sleepy to wake up and get a drink. "This shows that his soul is suffering from thirst, and is trying to get out of his body to assuage it. On the person going off to sleep soundly, the soul will leave the body, and will take the shape of a bird, and fly to where there is water. You often hear a 'tweet-tweet-tweet' at night, and you know that

that is some thirsty soul, for all the birds sleep at night and do not fly about." When I pointed out that the *biro-biro* does, my informant said: "This is not the *biro-biro*, though it is like it, but any of the old men can tell the difference, and they also know by the sound whether the owner of the soul is dead [and the soul leaving for ever], or if he is sleeping, and the soul out for a mere temporary flight. After the soul has had its drink, and it is time for the person to wake up, it re-enters the body, and when the person wakes he is not thirsty."

Things do not always turn out so happily, however, for sometimes it happens that the soul is caught, for instance it may fly down a well and not be able to get out again; or it may be caught by a wizard or witch and be shut up in the hollow of a tree. In either case the person will sicken, and may not live through the next day unless the soul can be recovered. A *mallam* or a *boka* will be consulted at once, and he can recover it if down a well, but in the other case, in the old days in the Hausa States, the person suspected of witchcraft would be summoned by the *Sarikin Maiyu* as has been described before. In this case, however, instead of the guilty wizard patting the victim, he would tell the chief wizard where the soul would be found, and sure enough, "when the people went to the tree indicated, they would find a hollow in which was the bird. This would be set free, and would fly off, and before the messengers had had time to return, the sick person would have recovered." In North Africa, the wizard cannot be treated in this way, so a *mallam* has to give a *laiya* or a *Mai-Bori* must perform the proper rites and offer appropriate sacrifices to a *bori* in order to persuade it to set matters right.

"Sometimes you dream that you are falling or being

pursued, and awake with a start. You know then that a wizard has been trying to catch your soul, and that it has run back suddenly into your body and jumped in anywhere, head first."

Only a maiye can catch a soul in the shadow. If an ordinary person were to tread upon it no harm would be done, for a man must be born a maiye, he cannot become one, "but how could you be certain that the person was not a maiye?" Again, many people do not like their reflection in a glass or in water to be seen even by themselves, for a maiye could catch the soul through it, and they greatly object to a camera—though more in Tunis than in Nigeria. I am told that Mohammed said that the angels do not enter a house in which there is a picture, for every painter of human beings is destined for hell fire, though he may escape if he confines himself to trees and "still life." One would almost fancy that certain of our own artists believed in this, and had, in consequence, given us those masterpieces depicting a frugal—and very messy—lunch of bread, cheese, and stout. But even a liquid may be dangerous, for the soul can be caught by an enemy by calling the name over a bowl of water, as will be seen, and it might be noted that an echo is also named *kuruwa*, though it is also known as *iblis*, a devil.

The familiar bori seems to resemble an external soul to some extent, for it is like the being to which it belongs, but it is outside him, and casts no shadow, and it is really a double, corresponding to the Egyptian *Ka*. It also wanders when the owner sleeps (but not when only day-dreaming), though it does not necessarily go in company with the soul, "each goes off upon its own." Its duty is to protect the being from injury by another bori, and "if it is stronger than the enemy, all you will know is

that you feel tired on account of the struggle ; but if weaker, it will be worsted, and you will become ill." Now all bori are not unfriendly, especially if ample and appropriate sacrifices have been made to them, so " if in your dream you are told to do something, and you do it and are fortunate, you will know that a well-disposed bori has been to visit yours." The latter would know immediately of the pending visit of the strange bori, and would return at once, in this case to receive the friendly intimation. The function of the familiar bori then is to act as an intermediary between the spirits of Jan Garu and the human being.

In addition to this familiar bori of the same sex, each person has also a bori of the opposite sex, which stays underground in his house. Such a bori does not like its particular mortal to get married, for it sleeps with the person, and has relations during sleep—as is known by the dreams—though with neither combination can conception take place. This is modern, because the Semites—from whom the idea of the sexual bori was borrowed—believed that offspring were begotten in such a manner. There are many biblical examples (*e.g.* Ezek. xxiii. 4).⁶

When the person wishes to be married, he or she should consult the bori, because otherwise the latter will be jealous of its human rival and will cause trouble—we have seen that it may delay the courses in a girl, or produce false conception. In fact, in any case it will be jealous, but if incense is offered to it, and its mother is summoned,⁷ she will advise it not to annoy the person, and it will be too much ashamed not to obey. But even then, it may refuse to give the person up absolutely ; and a female bori may be particularly troublesome, for even though a man has four wives it may persist in having it

turn somehow. Other informants deny this last statement, and say that the bori are not consulted at all before a wedding, and, in fact, sometimes a person is so ill-natured that no bori will come near him or her before marriage, much less stay in the house afterwards. One says, however, that although women often keep their bori after marriage, men almost always separate from them then. In any case, there is danger at the time the human being changes his or her condition, and the fear of these familiar bori accounts for the practice of leaving so much to the best man and the chief bridesmaid, as we have seen.

Professor Seligmann, in his contribution to the volume of *Essays and Studies*, presented last year to that brilliant scholar, Professor William Ridgeway, after having noted that the belief in the *Ka* still exists in Upper and Lower Egypt, says (p. 449) that "a variant of the belief in the 'double' [or *qarina*] . . . is that everyone has an invisible companion of the opposite sex who is regarded and spoken of as a 'sister' or 'brother.' This companion lives in quiet shady places, in dark rooms, and especially under the threshold. . . . The death of one or more children in a family is often attributed to the influence of their mother's 'brother' (companion) and the mother and surviving children may wear iron anklets to avoid this danger. I could not ascertain what was supposed to happen to the *qarina* [in Syria] at death, there seemed to be a vague belief that it might in some way pass to one of the children of the deceased. . . . [In Egypt] the majority believe that it perishes with the individual, while some few say that it enters the grave with the body." Mr Engelbach tells me that the *qarina* can sometimes be seen by certain persons, and that the double of a twin may wander about in the form of a cat. The lover does not leave its

human spouse at marriage. It seems to me that the two ideas are quite distinct, that one is not a variant of the other at all, and although the statement may be true with regard to the Egyptian belief, anything of the kind would seem to be absolutely incorrect so far as the Hausas are concerned, for both beliefs are held by the same individual, as was the case in Assyria, and is now in Egypt, in all probability.

In addition to the *kuruwa* and the different *bori*, there is the *Rai* (Life), which is connected in some way with the soul (for both leave the body together at death) and with the breath (*lumfashi*, for it leaves the body in the breath at death), and yet is distinct from both, for it never wanders outside the body; it has no shadow, and although it is usually in the heart, it is not always there. Neither is it the familiar *bori*, and yet it may at one time have been thought to be a spirit, or a second soul, perhaps, as there is an old plural form, *raiuka*, which means spirits. It is not the pulse (*jini*), though this is regarded as being the health and strength of the body, and *rai* sometimes means self. There is a possibility that it is connected with some Libyan, Egyptian, or Semitic word meaning "serpent," but so far I have not found one. Such a connexion would be quite intelligible, I think, especially as the Arabic *hiya* has both significations.⁸ "Sometimes a small part of your body may commence to quiver—e.g. the eyelids may twitch, or a lump may suddenly appear—that is the *rai* wandering about," and it is dangerous to touch a person in that condition. Haj Ali was in a café one day with an Arab whose arm suddenly began to swell, and a friend who entered, being delighted to see the Arab, struck him a hard blow in a friendly manner. As it happened, his hand hit the swelling, and

the Arab fell down and died, "for the friend had beaten the life." Was it an embolism?

The *kuruwa* and the *rai* are in the womb with the foetus, but the *bori* does not arrive until the delivery of the child. It is not the same *bori* as the one avoided by the trick of losing the hen kept for the purpose (see p. 98), for that one is evilly disposed, whereas the familiar *bori* tries to preserve the human being to which it belongs. The *bori* departs at once upon the death of its body, but the *kuruwa*, although it comes out of the body when the washing is done, waits about, follows it to the grave, and does not fly away until the grave has been closed up and the people have gone. Then it proceeds to the *Rijiyan Rai* (Well of Life), which is situated in the City of The South—either Jerusalem or Medina. Here it seems to become identified with the *rai*, for henceforth there is only one being.⁹

In the *Rijiyan Rai* are the souls of human beings of every race and colour, white, black, and brown, and they have their kings and officials exactly as upon earth; but there is no war, for Allah would not allow it. Good and bad are there, but "the good souls make the bad ones keep to one part of the *rijiya*, for they will not mix with them." The latter are not punished in any way, however, for all the souls will remain in peace until Allah judges them. There is no marriage—though both male and female souls are there, of course—nor is any food eaten. There are no houses, for shelter is not required since neither sun nor rain can reach them. It is dark, but that does not matter to the souls, for they have been accustomed to going about at night when their bodies were alive, and they can see quite well. A soul which has been eaten by a wizard cannot go there at once, but "Allah will lose nothing, and will make a fresh one out of the remains." The souls of

animals also go to the Rijiyan Rai, for Allah created them, and to Him will they return ; they also will be judged and rewarded or punished according to their records.

The familiar bori of an enemy may be sold to one of the forest bori in the following way. " Go to a Mai-Bori and tell him what you want. The Mai-Bori will agree, but will make you promise that the blame will be yours, and that he will be only the intermediary to let the bori know. He then burns incense at the drain, say, and calls Jato, and by-and-by this spirit will enter the head of the Mai-Bori and announce his arrival. You then tell him what you want, saying that he can have so and so as an offering, and you promise to sacrifice a black bull (nothing less will be accepted), and Jato will probably tell you that your request will be granted, that he ' will wipe away your tears.' You then return home, and within a few days you will hear that your enemy has become ill, and then you must arrange to procure a black bull. Soon afterwards you will hear that he is dead, so you sacrifice the bull ; and thus while the people in his house are mourning, those in yours are rejoicing."

Apparently, anyone can sell anyone else thus. It is true that a person has no proprietary or other right over his enemies, but " if you offer a human being by name to any bori it will accept him and kill him." My informants agreed that a bori could kill a person if it wished to do so without waiting for him to be named by a worshipper, but, although they could not give the reason, they had no doubt that a person would be fairly safe unless named, supposing that he had not offended the bori, but that there would be no escape for him when this had happened unless he discovered the deed, and persuaded the spirit to let him live—substituting another victim, of course. The

idea that a person can sell himself or another to the devil will not be strange to English readers. There was a Yorkshire case in 1329 in which one man bought the devil from another for 3½d. and sued the vendor later on because the goods were not delivered.¹⁰

Not every person has a ghost (*fataluwa*) though he has a soul which may revisit the earthly haunts of its body after death. The fataluwa are found about a battlefield soon after a combat, but they will disappear after a time. They have the same shape as men, and are clothed in white, but they are of no substance, for "if you beat them, you will go right through them." They may come into the town and "crouch against a wall and try to jump out and frighten you as you pass. If you show fear and run or fall, they will kill you, but if you rush for them and beat them with a whip, or clank two pieces of iron together, you will be quite safe." A fataluwa comes from the blood of a person who has been killed, and is not seen otherwise except as follows. In the case of a person dying in the ordinary manner, the fataluwa waits with the body until it is buried; those with the corpse do not see it. But if anyone who hated the deceased enters the room, or if the deceased has said that he does not want a particular person to attend his funeral, and he comes, this person will see the fataluwa, and it will frighten him away. After burial the fataluwa remains in the grave, and it will never appear again, so there is no need to be afraid of any evil there. Again, a very wicked person may have a fataluwa although he died a natural death, but it is uncertain how long such an one will exist.

In the case of people killed, however, the case is different. "There was a certain town in the North of Nigeria called Ungwal Gamji renowned for its prowess in war, and at last it

was besieged and taken by a strong enemy. But none of the inhabitants would surrender, and those who had not been killed while fighting, committed suicide upon the capture of the town, even the women throwing themselves and their children into the flames. The town was destroyed, and no one has ever been able to live there since, for anyone who goes near it can hear the ghosts of the people killed calling to each other, just as the people themselves did when alive." ¹¹ There is a saying "Ungwal Gamji cannot be reinhabited until the resurrection." This story was told me in Tunis; it savours somewhat of the capture of Carthage.

It is not necessary that there should have been a battle, for a person who has been murdered has a fataluwa which is similar to that of a fallen warrior. It is a widespread belief in North Africa that if a new nail be driven into the ground at the spot where the crime has been committed the ghost will be imprisoned—just as a good spirit is confined in the woodwork of a door. Otherwise a cairn is built up, as is explained later. In Egypt, in the Fiyum, so Mr Engelbach tells me, the ghost (*afrit*) can take possession of a human being just as can a jinn, and one can arise from the blood of even animals which have been killed.

"There is always one angel hovering above at your right hand, and another at your left, the former recording all your good thoughts, writing them down as he goes along, the latter your evil ones. Upon this record you will be judged, but if at night before going to sleep you say, 'I repent,' the left-hand angel erases his record, and you start afresh, though with the good thoughts recorded." To be extra safe, it is as well to make a present of grain to a mallam, for this will procure the forgiveness of sins committed during the previous year. The angels also wander about during sleep, but not in company with the soul or the bori, for each takes its own

path, but each knows when the body is about to wake up, and returns with equal speed—though, as has been seen, the soul is sometimes late, according to some. The belief in the *malaiku* is confined to the Mohammedan Hausas, the Magazawa will have none of them.

Dreams are always true, though it may be some time before they are fulfilled, but when at length the time comes, you will say: "Ah! I remember, I dreamed that!" If you dream that you see a certain man sitting in a farm all alone, or in a courtyard amidst a ring of his friends, all of whom pass him by without speaking to him, you will know that he is dying or dead. Sometimes spitting or washing on waking up will postpone the evil event.

In the interpretation of dreams, there are certain definite rules. For instance, an egg or an article of clothing signifies a woman, this being in consequence of a reference in the Koran; a ship implies safety, because Noah was saved; whereas the visit of a chief warns one of approaching poverty—easily understood when one remembers the rapacity of the rulers when subject to no check. Omens or objects which are fortunate or the contrary in ordinary life have the same value in dreams, so a raven is unlucky (though here it signifies an enemy) while a horseshoe or a key implies good luck, as does the presence of a person named Salim or something else denoting good health. There is even a kind of language of flowers. With the Arabs, in case none of these methods are applicable, it is recognised as with us that dreams often go by contraries, the people arguing that as darkness is the opposite to light, so will be the course of the events which seem to occur then. The interpreter is fairly safe, therefore, if not called upon to use his powers too soon. But the Hausa is not quite prepared to thus wilfully insult his own soul's intelligence, and he believes in the

true fulfilment of dreams, if proper preparation has been made, such as fasting and praying, though the credibility of the dreamer is to be taken into account. The Arab says that a poet's dreams can never be believed in because he always lives in an atmosphere of unreality. There should be many laureates amongst the Hausas of Tunis, and Nigeria could furnish a host of at least minor poets, if this were the only qualification.

CHAPTER XI

MAGIC—THE SAINTS AND THE MAGICIANS

It will have been seen that magical practices are frequently resorted to in order to obtain success, and these means must now be examined in detail. The principal rites are performed in order to obtain good fortune in love or in hunting, for the rightful purpose of self-defence, either in private life or in time of war, or so as to work evil upon a rival or an enemy; and in the following chapter they will be examined in order.

The people who advise upon or prescribe the appropriate charm or spell are either *mallami* who are Mohammedan priests, or the *bokaye*, medicine-men. The former have studied their Koran, and the charms made with verses, words, letters, or figures from it have been learned from other mallams, as has been explained in Chapter VIII. The training of the boka is much more mystical.

Mallams are of two kinds: the scholar who is really educated, and the magician who lives by his wits.¹ Perhaps "doctor" or "professor" would be the nearest English equivalent, for each of these words describes the great man of science equally with the quack, and, with the Hausas as with us, anyone professing to work wonders (*e.g.* Professor XYZ, The Famous Medico - Electrical - Pharmaceutical Diagnostician) will command a following. There too, as here, the learned men try to prevent the public being gulled by the inexpert, while the latter strive by making their charms all the more alluring to snatch a precarious livelihood.

This antipathy is natural, for originally the scholar was one who, dissatisfied with the stock remedies and explanations, tried to find out a straighter path in which to walk, and, as in England, scientific discovery was never popular with the men settled in the old beliefs. In Hausaland the difference is not marked even yet, for the greatest scholar believes in the efficacy of a written talisman for illness, while regarding with contempt the herbal decoction of a pagan medicine-man—though the latter may really be quite appropriate chemically, and very much more useful. But there is method in this, for each mallam has a natural desire to sell his own prescriptions, and to prevent or crush opposition. The natives are much too superstitious to take a medicine in our way ; they must have some magical rite, and when European doctors in Nigeria give pills even to their own servants, the patients often seek a written charm from a mallam as well, and, if cured, the latter gets the credit—and, of course, the fee. So, too, with the pagan medicines, the wonderful results may be attributed rather to the magical qualities of a mouse's tail than to the curative properties of the insignificant herbs which accompany it. Thus each bori, which is a distinct illness, has its own special plants, but the part of the treatment which attracts the patient is the rite, not the potion. Have not we also a little lingering desire for the unknown, for letters strange and figures magical? A patient will willingly drink and pay for a prescription of Sod. Chlr. ʒij, Ad aq ʒii, when he would refuse with scorn a direction in plain English to take a spoonful of salt in a glass of water. Nay, more, the latter would do him no good, for he would have no faith in it, and a trusting belief in one's medical attendant has at least as much effect as have his drugs and his skill. I know of miners and farmers in Australia thinking that their doctor

or their dentist could not have done his work properly because he had not hurt them sufficiently, and the tale of the Arab who, on being charged three lira for having had a tooth pulled out in a few seconds, and without pain, complained that his own "doctor" would have charged less than half, although he had taken *half-an-hour* about it, is very true to life. Is there something in this of the idea of the necessity for suffering on the part of the animal when the evil is being removed?

It is hardly strange that the doctor should be a magician as well when we remember that the maladies are considered to be evil spirits, and that exorcism rather than surgery is required for the relief of the sufferer. The Hausa's expressions, *Chiwu ya kama ni* (Sickness has seized me) and *Ta rikka borin kumiya* (She had the Demon of Shame) are indications of his belief—were we altogether free of such ideas in the past? Or even nowadays, when we have "A devil of a cold," because "the wind caught us"? And really, if we regard the bori as a bacillus, the notion is not absolutely absurd, for it is certainly an invisible evil being which consumes our life. It is almost an argument for the degeneration theory!

In North Africa the Hausas believe in the mallams, not only when alive, but when dead, and it will be seen that the powers of marabouts are exercised in exactly the same direction as those of the magicians. But this is not astonishing, for the saint also commands the bori, though in the name of Allah, to whom they are subject, and the magician forces the same spirits into his service through the efficacy of the appropriate rite. In fact, if the magician uses the name of Allah, his incantation is akin to a prayer. The names of Christ were used to protect against diseases and evil spirits, not only in Africa, but even in England, and

the Hebrew sorcerers called upon angels and other heavenly powers to aid them. As an example of the opposite kind, let me quote Curtiss's story of the woman who appealed to a marabout (by shaking the pall of his tomb) to recall a recalcitrant lover for whom she had made her husband divorce her. The Saint made the man so ill that he capitulated, and the marriage was celebrated at the shrine.² The mallams and the Masu-Bori are generally, if not always, physicians; the barber is the surgeon—just as he was once in England, his pole reminds us.

Neither the scholar nor the magician is necessarily an impostor. It is known now that many of our own ancient "remedies" or remedial measures in reality killed the patients whom it was intended that they should cure, but surely it is not necessary to prove that the medical men acted conscientiously in the full belief that they were right? Nor does anyone seriously believe that none of the methods of treatment now in force will ever be discarded. Almost any day one can read in a newspaper that some doctor has recommended a certain article while another declares that it is the worst thing possible, yet the opinion of each has been given in good faith.³ Here, as well as in Hausaland, people have got to do the best with what knowledge they have, and, as has been said before, faith is the principal ingredient. Indeed, for some hypochondriacs hypnotism may be much more beneficial than a drug. Public opinion, too, is a very serious factor, and just as the mallam in Africa is often forced to act in the prescribed manner, so a surgeon in England will hesitate to use a new method of treatment which he has discovered, although absolutely convinced in his own mind of its superiority to those in general use.

It is not always easy to become a boka. Haj Ali, who is

himself one, says that only men who have been through the Fittan Fura, and have been initiated into the bori sect are eligible, and, in order to attain to this position, the candidate must take medicines for three months from the other bokas, potions which will increase his capacity for understanding drugs, and also teach him how they should be prepared. After that, he offers up a sacrifice of a red cock and a white hen, or more, according to his means, and must then burn incense in the medicine-hut (*gidan tsafi*) for five nights running, taking care not to go to sleep. On the last night, his eyes are opened, and he sees an aljan without a head, and then various others which are described in Chapter XIV., of none of which must he show the slightest sign of fear. Next night he goes into the midst of the forest, and meets the dwarf, Gajere Mai-Dowa, with his bow and arrow in his hand. This bori asks what he wants, and he makes his request, and then Gajere will indicate certain roots which will give him special power in particular cases. He returns to the *gidan tsafi*, offers another sacrifice and incense, and is then a fully fledged boka. He builds his own *gidan tsafi*, and may be heard inside conversing with the bori, who appear to him in the shape of frogs, scorpions, snakes, chameleons, etc. If very proud of his Arabic, he may call himself an *ettabibi*, who is as much like a boka as is a medical student who has qualified for the Ch.B. to one content with a mere B.S.

The boka is a man nowadays, though I fancy at one time women were held to be more powerful in magic, for the boka may wear a woman's head-dress (see Ill. 46), and the chief (*arija*) of the temple in North Africa is always a woman. Again, an ordinary female has a harmful effect upon charms, as will be seen. It is said that a proper boka is too full of medicines ever to wish for intimate

relations with a female, and that if he did sleep with one he would be unable to complete the act. In any case, sexual intercourse ruins the power to call up the bori, as is explained later on.

There was a very celebrated arifa in Tripoli some ten years ago, named Mai-Bille, who had been taken as a slave from Maradi. "She had a gidan tsafi of her own, and you could hear the bori going cheet-cheet-cheet in her house until she stopped them.⁴ Her totem was a snake, and she had one in a corner of her room which used to come out, when she would rub its head, and promise it eggs and milk. There were scorpions also, and a hare, all being spirits which had taken animal form," the scorpions being some of the Yayan Zanzanna, or small-pox spirits. "She kept them so that she might maintain her health, and in order to make herself feared." The second reason is easy enough to understand, the other is not, but my informant, Salah, said that had she not lived with them she would have been ill—she being so full of medicine, apparently, that it had to be given an outlet. Both Haj Ali and Salah had been her assistants, so they knew her well, but I found that her name was a byword to all in Tunis as well as Tripoli, Haja Gogo, the present arifa of Tripoli, being her successor, and living in her room, part of which is seen in Ill. 10. She was better known by her nickname of *Giwa Azuza* (Old Elephant), which, however, was a compliment! It is not only the bori which can be brought into a house; the keeper of a tomb will sometimes hear the marabout who has been buried there talking to the ghosts of others of his profession who have come to visit him. This, however, is not surprising, for in time these marabouts will become bori just as have Mallam Alhaj and others.

Another story of her goes as follows. She would eat

no meat except the testicles of rams, and one Tuesday she went to market to buy them as usual. The butcher, an Arab, who did not know her, refused to sell them to her, and she returned home in a rage, and, burning incense, told the bori what had happened. So great was the effect that from early morn till dewy eve the butcher sold none of his meat, and he could not imagine the reason, since it was quite as good—or as bad—as usual. At last, someone told him of what he had done, and he at once brought a whole carcass, testicles and all, to her house, begging her to accept it as a present, and to pardon him. She graciously consented, and gave him a small drop of scent to rub upon his face, commanding him not to speak a word until he had got back to his stall. He carried out her instructions, and lo! upon his return he sold out his whole stock immediately. Needless to say, she had no more trouble after that, and perhaps it was fortunate for her that she lived in North Africa. In England not so very long ago she would have been burnt as a witch.

A third anecdote is even more interesting. Azuza and another arifa named Jibaliya (in whose house the dances shown in Ills. 51, etc., were held) once had a quarrel, the latter presuming to match herself with her great colleague, and saying that she could call up the bori quite as well as could The Old Elephant. Azuza put medicines and incense into a *malafa* (straw hat) in her room, folded it, and made Salah sew the two sides of the brim together. She then challenged Jibaliya to summon the bori, but the latter could not do so, because "Azuza had imprisoned them all in her hat," and for a whole year there were no dances, since neither woman could give in. At last, however, Sidi Hamura, one of the Karamanli, gave a big performance which was to consist of seven days' bori

dancing, and Jibaliya and her people attended. But they were powerless; the drummers could not even beat the correct rolls, and after three days of failure, Sidi Hamura summoned Azuza. On her arrival she taunted Jibaliya and said: "Now see how *I* shall make you dance." She put a little incense into her mouth and chewed it, and then spat it out upon the drummers' faces, and no sooner did it touch them than they played madly. She then began to undo the hat, and immediately the spirits commenced to roar, and by the time that the hat had been opened fully every one of the Masu-Bori present had become possessed.⁵

In Tunis, the men seem to be the more important, but in Tripoli it is the other (one cannot say the "fair") sex which has the advantage. The boka and the arifa may become comparatively rich through the practice of their professions, and the principal Masu-Bori also may manage to acquire property, but they never become chiefs. The mallams can, however, and they are now destroying the chances of all of the others in Nigeria, for they combine the work of all, and through playing upon the fanaticism of their fellow-Mohammedans, they are able to have the bokas, Masu-Bori, and wizards punished, although in reality they profess to do the same things themselves through the efficacy of their holy Koran!

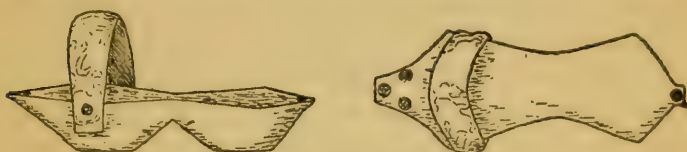
The boka is not the only one who dresses like a woman, for the *Garde*, or snake-charmers, wear a long tuft of hair, and the *Turdi* (their inveterate enemies) use the pad or dauka. In the bori dances, too, many of the male characters wear cloths and silken scarves—though this may be simply an indication of non-Mohammedan origin, as will be explained.

In spite of the fact that the Hausa has become a Moslem,

he is not above accepting talismans from a Christian, and as will be seen later (p. 188), a missionary was asked not long ago by pagans to pray for rain for them since they were doubtful of the success of their own efforts in that direction. In Nigeria I was often begged by Hausas and pagans for charms for a child-birth, but never by a Fulah; in North Africa I was eagerly besought by Hausas for amulets for success, but not by Arabs. A marabout imparts his *baraka* to all who touch his tomb, and though I could hardly be supposed to pass on holiness, it is very evident to the negro that the European with his wonderful inventions and his apparent wealth must be able to compose very powerful charms. I do not know if there is a special word to convey the meaning of European influence; *baraka* is generally used in North Africa to describe the force diffused by or flowing from the marabout, but although the Hausa uses the word *albaraka*, he speaks of his mallam as having *zafi*⁶—i.e. magic—though it is not used in a bad sense here, quite the contrary. At the same time, the marabout's *baraka* is a dangerous force, since it may work evil as well as good. The late Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, Dr Peile, when in chapel always made one feel that some effulgence, some invisible influence of a really good man was emanating from him; that there was an almost tangible aura, part of which could be taken away afterwards. I imagine that the Hausa's idea of his saint's *baraka* is much the same, except that with him fear is predominant, and so nervous superstition takes the place of peaceful affection and admiration. The more successful the European or the mallam, the stronger his influence must be, and, of course, his talismans also, for the objects which have been in contact with or have been constructed by him partake to some extent of his

personality, and are valued accordingly, just as we cling to a place for its old associations, and treat with the greatest love and veneration a broken toy which once belonged to a dear parent now dead and lost to us.

The same idea is held with regard to the rags seen hanging to the tree in Ill. 26, for having been touched by the women, they have become in a way part of themselves, and when left on the tree they cause to be duplicated in "the rest of the body" (the person herself) the influence which is produced in them by the spirits imprisoned in the tree. The connexion between the rag and the woman is comparable with the fact that



FIGS. 9 and 10.—Votive Clogs

certain fortune-tellers in London claim to predict the fate of a person by simply "sensing" a glove or other article which he or she has worn. In Roman Catholic churches and elsewhere may be seen legs, arms, etc., placed in the shrines of the Virgin—or of a saint with special power over the particular complaint—by persons suffering from afflictions of these parts of their bodies, the presence of the model in the church being supposed to procure or secure the health of the corresponding member of the worshipper. In the Hausa temples also are votive offerings, but they are not comparable to those of the Christians, for they are not in any way sympathetic, the age of the spirit being considered, not the seat of the disease. A pair of wooden clogs, therefore, will answer just as well for a rash on the face as for an abscess on the leg, since the

afflicting bori in each case is one of "The Little Spots." A toy horse will be even more efficacious, because it is more welcome.

As has been pointed out elsewhere,⁷ many white men when travelling in a savage country have been asked by the natives to try cases of difficulty; perhaps because of probable injustice on the part of the chief, who might be an interested party; perhaps because the chief is only too glad not to have to judge between them, and so escape incurring the enmity of one side or the other; or perhaps because the stranger is regarded as a supernatural messenger, or at least a magician. This is only natural in the case of a European who has so many strange possessions, and comes perhaps from the land of the setting or the rising sun—one enters Hausaland from the south-west—but every visitor is regarded as a little uncommon and uncanny, and, as in English, "stranger" means someone "strange," so too the Hausa word *bako* contains both meanings, though, owing to the travelling propensities and hospitality of the people, *bako* also stands for "guest." The idiom: *Muna yin bako* (lit., We are "doing" a stranger—there is no *arrière pensée*) may originally have implied some state in which there was a little danger, and the hospitality may have arisen from a wish to establish friendly relations with the unknown rather than from any wish to do him a good turn. In fact, this is clearly seen, for the chief sends a present to and calls upon his important guest, and, in the stories, the Hausa is often compelled to ask a persistent visitor to share his meal, in spite of his attempts to evade the honour.⁸ Again, a guest is not expected to help in the work of the house, certainly not in the preparation of food—the reason being obvious—and neighbours take it ill if not informed of his arrival. Even

the copious salutations and politeness of many people are said to be due to the desire to use words of good augury, and probably for this reason a man's father is said "to be missing" rather than that he is dead. We soften it into: "He is no longer with us, he has gone to a better world," and although with us such a thought soothes the feelings of those left behind, the Hausas are still in the state when the expression was meant for the benefit of the deceased—so that he would not wish to return to this one.

In North Africa, the prostitute is another being to whom are attributed powers above the average, either because she to some extent symbolises fertility, or else on account of her practising a profession not accessible to all. It may be that the same held good in Hausaland at one time, for in several tales a witch appears in this rôle, and special warnings are given to the hero against marrying such a person, but nowadays I think that the Hausa looks down upon her; at any rate this is the case in some parts, and, as will be seen, she is not quite safe with the bori. In Nigeria there were many loose characters in the community, though with the exception of the Fittan Fura, I have not heard of any recognised religious prostitution. That it existed, however, can hardly be doubted, for the Hausa rites are, in the main, those of Baal Hammon and Tanith, and there is no lack of West African examples.

The Hausa blacksmith does not seem to be regarded at the present time with as much awe by people of his own race as those of surrounding pagan tribes, although he still is to some extent different (*e.g.* the test of virginity in a blacksmith's daughter) and in certain pagan districts he is quite a person apart. But he still has one distinction, for, according to a proverb, every workman makes excuses, but a blacksmith is the worst.⁹

Butchers are dangerous people, for, on account of the blood which they spill, they are constantly surrounded by bori. For this reason they usually marry within their own guild.

Last, though not least, come the wizard and the witch.¹⁰ People cannot become wizards or be witches ; they must be born so. They may marry ordinary persons and have children, some of whom will possess the power of witchcraft, others not, although it is probable that the latter can develop it, for it is a hereditary gift. Office, however, depends upon merit, and a candidate for the rank of Sarikin Maiyu (Chief Wizard) is supposed to take one hundred meals of every kind of food and drink. These people catch the soul of a person they dislike and eat it, but no one can do anything to them, not nowadays at any rate, because there is no actual proof which is accepted by a court, although it is well known who is the culprit. The only thing to do is to go to a boka (who is more powerful still) and get a charm to drink or to wash with, or else to obtain a laiya from a mallam. Neither a wizard nor a witch can enter fire or deep water in safety, though both the mallam and the boka are protected against the former element.

CHAPTER XII

MAGIC IN THE HOUSE—LOVE CHARMS

It is now time to examine some of the love charms, but first it should be noted that if one has to buy the ingredients for a charm, they will be much more powerful if the money used in payment has been obtained in a certain manner. Thus to make a husband cleave to a wife, the latter should beg one-seventh of the sum from each of seven wives who have had only one husband, and have been the sole wives. Again, in other cases, the money would be obtained from seven persons of the same name, and these would preferably be namesakes of the person making the charm, though I am told that this is not always so, as instances are known of a mallam telling the applicant to go to others.

I must also mention that the charms to be described are all medicines or rites of some kind, for although written talismans or laiya exist in great numbers and are employed by almost every Hausa, they are essentially of foreign origin. This would not matter if the people understood them, but they do not; they simply accept blindly the little scraps of paper, and treat them as directed, and in any case these charms have been examined at length by M. Edmond Doutté, so it is not worth while going into the subject, especially as such charms are essentially of Arabic or Berber origin, not Hausa. But it is well to state that written charms are of much more value than printed ones; in fact, the latter have but little power, the reasons being

that the mallam imparts his own virtue when writing (as does the person who touches the pen when his fortune is being told), and secondly, that the ink has been specially prepared. It might be added that, in all probability, the objection to a change has also something to do with it, as is the case in most religious rites. But the last is disappearing, for Haj Ali thinks that if some of the mallam's ink was used for the printing, especially if he himself helped in the work, the charms thus produced would be almost as powerful as the written ones. Another informant, however, says that this would not be so, especially as in the latter case the charms would not be written in secret, an essential in many cases. It may be noted that in these talismans, the number 1, especially in combination—e.g. III, 1001, or even 99 (100 - 1)—is specially endowed with magical properties, and a survival of a similar belief with us is shown by the fact that a murderer is safe if his victim lives for "a year and a day."¹

Written charms become useless if taken across the sea, for there are many unclean things in the water, and charms are contaminated by them. I have mentioned several written charms for awakening love or producing popularity and for conferring invisibility or invulnerability, in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*,² and in the book mentioned above will be found the proper formulæ for many others, including those giving protection against headache, toothache, flatulence, heart disease, fever, and other ailments; against accidents, drowning, attacks by wild beasts, and stings of insects; against jealousy, slander, and theft; for the power to wreck a boat, to get news or to foretell the events of the year; to bring absent friends to one, to make a couple absurdly fond of each other, to increase the sexual power, and to keep a spouse faithful; or, on the

contrary, to sow discord, to separate a wife from a husband, or to part adulterous lovers ; to ensure success in hunting, fishing, trading, etc. ; to discover hidden treasures and also to protect them ; to ruin or blind one's oppressor or to make him sleepless, and even to burn down an enemy's house, the last an extremely useful one to a man who is afraid to accomplish the desired end by the ordinary means. Lastly, in order to protect completely the person thus acting—by the virtue of holy words, be it remembered—other charms enable him to enter the presence of the great to press his claims, or to ensure delivery from prison should such natural acts unfortunately send him there. But, as I have said, these are of foreign origin, and so, although used by the Hausas, it is not necessary to consider them further here.

In the spring, especially a tropical spring, a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love, or rather, of desire, and one of the first charms which he himself will think of procuring is that which will make a maiden smile upon him. It is comforting, therefore, to know that there are many means by which a girl can be made to look favourably upon an amorous swain. First try an easy one. Take a tiny piece of the *Dan Mutum Mutume* plant, pound it up, and by some means or other get it into her food. "If she eats of it she will follow you like a dog."

That is quite simple, and it may be unnecessary to do more, but should failure unfortunately be the result, it will be found that the next one is more efficacious. Take a tiny piece of the Nonon Kurichiya, mix it with a morsel of millet flour, and place the whole—not bigger than a pea—under the tongue before going to sleep at night. Next day take the pellet out of your mouth, dry it in the sun, and, after having added a scrap of the placenta of a

donkey, pound it up. This put into the fair one's food has the same gratifying result.

The next charm is somewhat more suggestive, and is a very powerful one. Take a small piece of the root of a *mantowa* tree, and then, sitting down, pull a certain part of the anatomy as far as possible along the thigh and make an incision in the leg at the point reached—the farther down the stronger the charm. Then, after having rubbed the *mantowa* into the cut, take it, and mix it with a small lock of hair from the forehead and the parings of all the nails (hands and feet) except those of the first fingers—for these are stretched out in praying. Burn these up in a vessel, and pound the remains into powder if necessary. Next morning put out your tongue to its full extent and touch the medicine, then manage to get the powder into the woman's food.

A very powerful charm is made as follows. Take a small portion of the dried after-birth of a she-ass, a little of the dried heart of a fowl, a piece of the root of the *mantowa* tree, and a little of the bark of the *madowachi*. Pound these together with a little grain, make into a ball, and sleep with it in your mouth. Next day give it to the woman in her food, and "after she has eaten it she will cry whenever she does not see you. Donkeys and fowls will keep coming back home, however much they are shooed away, and so will she hang around you."

Another good method is to pierce a certain hump-backed ant called *Rakumin Kassa*³ (Camel of the Earth) with a thorn of the *Fara Kaya* tree, and when she is not looking, squash the ant in her body-cloth. As long as that cloth lasts, she will never go near another man. Driving in a nail has the same effect as the tying of a knot—i.e. it

imprisons the influence, and there seems to be a suggestion of the former process in the above.

The following charm is not popular, for he who has used it may live to be sorry that he did so. Take the hearts of a fowl, a pigeon, and a dog, and after having pounded them up with a piece of the root of the mantowa tree, get them into the woman's food. After she has eaten the medicine she will give you no peace. "Even though you beat a dog he will keep on coming to you if you are eating meat, and so will the woman bother you, and she will wear you out."

The spittle and any remains of food, etc., taken from the stick with which a person cleans his or her teeth, mixed with a part of the mantowa and put into the food of the person desired, is another powerful love charm. It will be remembered that a saint can pass on some of his baraka by spitting into a dish of food, which is then greedily devoured by the faithful. Very faithful.

If your advances to a woman have been rejected, take a certain kind of kola-nut called *labuje* and a small piece of *ramma* stalk which you break into seven pieces. Put these into a new pot, and pour in a little water. Then add the dung of a black horse or a black ass, close up the pot, and put it away in a secret place. Each morning early, before you have spoken to anyone, spit into the pot and then close it up again, and on the seventh day take out the kola-nut, and give it to the woman. "If she eats of it, when you are in bed that night you will hear her knocking at the door."

The amorous swain has by no means a corner in these commodities, for a love-sick girl can use all of the foregoing except, of course, the third; instead of that she has a course open to her which is quite as good. She takes a

small piece of meat, places it high up between her legs, and sleeps with it there all night. In the morning, she cuts it up very fine, dries and powders it, and gets it into the food of the one whom she admires, and a similar result follows. It should have been stated that in all of these love charms, the name of the person desired must be spoken aloud at each stage.

It is not unnatural that a wife should wish to confine her husband's attentions to herself, though she knows that there is but little chance of such a thing in Hausaland. Still, she can but try—and incidentally help to enrich one of the mallams or bokas—at any rate, she can make her husband powerless to have intimate relations with other women. To do this, mix roots of the *bagaruwa*, *dundu*, and *gamji* together, pound them up, and give to the husband in food.

There is some means of making a man impotent even with his own wife, though my informants did not know what it was, but Haj Ali is acquainted with a man in Tunis named Hamuda who, nineteen months ago, wanted to marry a second woman, and his wife tried to dissuade him. Finding her arguments useless she swore that he would never touch any woman—not even herself—again, and he immediately became powerless. The wife was arrested, according to Haj Ali, and is still kept a prisoner, because she will not undo her spell, and as Hamuda does not exactly know what she did to him, he cannot obtain the appropriate antidote. It is evident that she did not injure him physically, and she may have used one of the Arab methods—*e.g.* that with a looking-glass.

If a wife is lonely during her husband's absence, or suspicious, or if for any other reason she is anxious for him to return to her without delay, she throws salt and

pepper upon the fire, calling his name at the same time. "If you were in a café you would jump up and run home so suddenly that your companions would think you mad." If some distance off the husband would travel all day and all night until he arrived. The fruit of the *begeyi* tree will reconcile a husband and wife, or even lovers, hence the name.

But alas! it must be admitted that not every wife is anxious for her husband to return in a hurry, nay more, she is even desirous of blinding him when at home, and when such an one wishes to have a lover, the following are useful charms to know.

Take a little water in which a corpse has been washed, and a pinch of earth from a grave just above where the head is, and about a foot down.⁴ Mix the earth and water together, and, in this, place a pin or a piece of rag. Put this under your husband's pillow, after he has gone to bed, and his eyes will close at once, and he will sleep so soundly that nothing will wake him. You can then get out of bed and leave him, if not exactly with a clear conscience at any rate with an easy mind, for you know that he will sleep until you have returned and have removed the pin or piece of rag.

A much more powerful charm, but unfortunately so difficult to obtain, is made as follows. Take a certain field-mouse known by the Hausas here as *Beran BENGHAZI*,⁵ and cut its throat. Then dry the body, taking care to save the blood with it, and pound it up with certain roots. Obtain the right hand of a corpse, place the powder in couscous, and stir it with the dead hand, hiding it in your own. At any time after the husband has eaten the couscous so doctored, he will be amenable to treatment, and all the wife has to do is to place the dead hand under his pillow.

After this, he will become so tractable that she will be able to talk to her lover in his presence, and he will even summon the lover to visit her at her request. Haj Ali knows of an Arab whose wife worked this charm, and, although everyone told him of her infidelity, he would not admit it; in fact, he even abused those who were kind and thoughtful enough to bring him the information, so now he is shunned by his former companions. As Haj Ali said: "How could one be friendly with such a fool?"

In both of the above it is the corpse which exercises the soporific influence, for the husband is made to appear as if dead for the time. The mouse (which moves in dark corners) and the roots (which never see the sun) in the second charm cause the husband to be blind to the wife's misdeeds even when he is awake.

Life in Africa is so uncertain that a man may never marry a girl whom he desires. It may be that her father has promised her to three or four men in order to obtain presents from them—as has been mentioned in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, Story 47. But more likely it is because the girl herself has become enamoured of someone who can give her more luxury, and in that case it is only natural that the disappointed lover should seek to avenge himself. The following charm can be used by a man against any woman who has rejected or even insulted him. Take the intestines of a goat and blow them out. Then put a medicine prepared from the roots of certain trees inside, mentioning the woman's name, and again blow, and tie the intestines up. Then put them in the fire, and they will fizzle and pop, and as they do this so will the female be seized with internal pains, and lose control over herself. So bad will she become that when the parents or other relatives know that your feelings have

been hurt, they will guess what is happening, and will rush to you, and promise you anything if you let her get well again. Then, if you take the intestines off the fire, the illness will leave her at once.

So much for the faithless fair. But the rejected lover's armoury is not yet depleted, for he can still deal with his supplanter. As has been said, a bridegroom can be rendered impotent if the rival walks behind him with an open knife or pair of scissors, and calls him, shutting it immediately he answers. If the bridegroom does not reply, however, he is safe—as in the case of the traveller in the vicinity of Jan Gari. The same effect may be brought about by sticking a needle into the clothing worn by the bridegroom, or into a small piece previously torn off and stolen.

No concrete instance of the above spells upon a Hausa could be given, but Haj Ali knew of an Arab girl, Khlairage, who was married, and yet no efforts upon her husband's part or her own could bring about consummation. About fifteen days afterwards, an aunt (the mother being dead) remembered that the girl had been "tied" by a weaver when young, so she was taken to another weaver, and made to walk around the loom, and that night the husband was successful.

It is just possible that the girl's mother, aunt, elder sister, or someone else interested, may have wanted her to marry the unsuccessful suitor, not the man who has been accepted, or who has even become her husband—and may make up her mind to bring about the union which she desires. She therefore awaits her opportunity, and manages to sprinkle the girl with water in which a corpse has been washed. If the accepted lover hears of this he will break off the engagement at once in all probability,

but if not, and he marries her, the girl will do her best to leave him. Only a charm from a mallam can undo this, and if the man cannot get it soon he had better renounce or divorce her, otherwise she will certainly disgrace him.

CHAPTER XIII

MAGIC IN THE HOUSE—SELF-PRESERVATION

EVERYONE is interested in his own preservation, and there are many charms to enable a person to become invisible—alas ! not often from the best of motives—passively to ward off the attacks of his enemies, and also to be able, in an active manner, to attack them with success. These are prepared in various ways, and range in importance from the simple piece of *sabani* (one of the leguminosæ)—which, when held in the hand by a naughty boy, protects him against threatened chastisement by his father—to the brain of the hyena—which, when eaten by a rival, drives him mad—or to the various means by which an enemy is killed. Perhaps the fact that the word *sammo* means both “to obtain a talisman to injure,” and also “to poison” may throw some light upon the methods of the mallams and others !

The plant in a tree which comes from a seed dropped by a bird will make a powerful charm. There is one which grows in the kalgo tree (*Kauchin Kalgo*), for instance, which is useful in many charms, but “you must cut it without speaking, for if you mention its name it will wither up at once and disappear.” Another, in a large-leaved palm-tree (*Kauchin Kabba Sha Nema*), is particularly valuable. Take a piece of this, and after having pounded it up, together with the flower of the *Kawo* tree, make a *laiya* of it, and wear it above your forehead or around your neck. Should you see some men with money

spread out before them on a mat (this would occur when paying a large sum for certain work, or it might be only a small amount in the market), place the charm between your teeth. You will then become invisible immediately, and will be able to seize all their money and take it away.

Another method of becoming invisible is to carry out the following directions. Take a small portion of some part (either the hair, hoof, blood, or entrails) of a black cat, a black dog, a black fowl, a black goat, and a donkey, and, having mixed these with a *Badufu*¹ beetle, pound all together in a mortar. Then make a laiya by placing the powder in a bag made of a piece of the skin of a hyena, and wear it.

The two charms just mentioned, and others for a similar purpose, are very much sought after by thieves, and the next one is almost invaluable. With a small piece of the root of a certain tree, pound up the heart, a piece of skin from the forehead, and the nails of a *dabgi* (ant-eater). Then make these into a laiya in the usual way, and keep in a safe place. When out following one's profession, if the wearer sits down, he immediately begins to sink, and can get under a wall (like the *dabgi*), or if he leans against it the wall will open and give him a passage—a policeman at Jemaan Daroro was accused of having a similar charm, and the people really believed that it acted. But the wearer must be careful. He is only safe when standing, for whenever he sits down he will sink, whether he wishes to do so or not, so the charm is not widely used.

The hearts of an owl, a jackal, and a jerboa, dried, powdered, and placed in a laiya, make the wearer invisible, and the charm is particularly powerful if the skin of a frog is used as the covering.

The heart of a vulture (a very silent bird) wrapped in

rag, and placed upon the skin of a hyena (the enemy of the dog) will prevent that animal barking, and this is a very useful charm for burglars to possess. But a more efficacious one is made by mixing medicine with, or by wrapping the torn-up pieces of a written charm in, meat, and by giving it to the dog for several days before the midnight visit so that the charm has time to act. The last one, at any rate, has a reasonable chance of success !

If a burglar should be sufficiently unfortunate to be detected and captured, a mallam can give him a talisman for delivery from prison, it will be remembered. Still it is much more convenient and cheaper not to be caught at all, of course.

It may have been impossible to obtain any of the above charms, or a person may have some which through age have become useless, so he must think of other means of protecting himself whilst earning a more or less peaceful and honest living. In this chapter, charms used in war and the chase will not be considered, however, for the professions of a soldier and a hunter require more than ordinary risks. But in civil life there are dangers too, though there are so many potions, amulets, and talismans, that the rich man may be very well protected unless he forgets Allah, ridicules a bori, or, becoming careless of his safety, allows his charms to perish. A cautious man will obtain new ones every now and then, because all lose their efficacy at some time or other, and a careless person may not discover this until they have failed to work, when it is too late. But no one could excuse himself for not having the following charm, since it is so easy to obtain. Take a little of the *Keke Koma Mashekiya*, grind it up, and mix with water. By washing yourself with this you will cause the evil wishes of an enemy to recoil upon himself.

It is unnecessary, perhaps, to point out that a mallam can give a charm by writing the appropriate words, letters or figures from the Koran, and it is interesting to note that a parallel can be found in Europe, for the Bible was used in a similar manner. "It is a good physic, and helps to drive away ghosts, especially the beginning of the Gospel of St John." So the first fourteen verses or more, or parts of them, were written upon a piece of paper, and worn around the neck as a charm against devils; a custom which was expressly forbidden by King Edward VI.²

If you suspect that a human being is trying to wound or imprison you, get a piece of the skin of an electric eel (*munjiriya*), and wear it like a *laiya*, for "this will not only enable you to slip through the hands of anyone who manages to catch hold of you (as might be expected), but it also causes all blows with club or sword to be harmless."

Another method is to get a black snake, and to cut off its head, and in the head place a seed of the *ramma* plant. "Bury the head and seed in a grave which must be exactly seven days old, and pour water upon it at midnight for three nights running, when the shoot will appear. Seven days afterwards, take some of the fat from the body of the snake, and at midnight proceed to the grave, strip quite naked (removing even the loin-cloth in Hausaland), lie down, and rub the fat upon the plant. An aljan, like a man with a big head, will appear, and try to frighten you, and another in the shape of a big snake—but you must keep on. Next night do the same, also on the third night. When the plant has grown to a height of between three and four feet, go at midnight to the grave, again strip naked, pull up the *ramma*, peel it, and mould with the hands into the shape of a girdle, and then tie it round your waist, and go home. Afterwards, if anyone attempts to strike

you, pull off your girdle and wave it in your hand, and it will become a snake, and will bite your enemy."

The great causes of dread to the Hausa in Tunis are the evil eye (*mugun ido*) and the evil mouth (*mugun baki*), each of which is an occult force residing in an evil-wisher. There are many means used to prevent the effect of both of these, but somehow one is caught napping some day.

The evil eye is perhaps the easier to guard against, because one has more chance of seeing a person's expression than one has of knowing what he is saying under his breath. But if one could only get a good look at the latter one might know, for the person with a *mugun baki* has a black tip to his tongue. Auta told me that it was through someone's *mugun baki* that he had been out of work so long, but Khadejia or Fedia, his wife, had a much more patent case than that, and it was extremely interesting to me, for, as I was going to their house just at that time, I had the news on the spot. She was one of the priestesses of the *Gidan Yara* (House of the Young Spirits), and as she had had a bad attack of fever—for which I was giving her quinine—she had not been out for several days. She had a gold-fish (of which she was very fond) in a glass bowl upon a chest of drawers. One afternoon, one of the other priestesses, Araba (see Ill. 38), came to call, and said, "Why do you not come up to the temple, do you expect everyone to come down to you?" This was all that passed, for I saw them meet and part, apparently good friends. But it was quite enough. When I came next day, the gold-fish was dead, and that was a clear case of *mugun baki*. I doubt if Araba had ever noticed the fish, though perhaps that was a point in favour of the theory, for if she had it would have been her evil eye which had done the harm. In any case, she had evidently intended

to wound Khadejia. However, there was some satisfaction. Khadejia bought another gold-fish, and told me that Araba's evil wish would recoil upon herself, for when she saw that the fish was still there—she would not know that it had been replaced—she would think her wish had miscarried, and would go about in fear and trembling, for an influence once let loose has got to do something. The question as to whether Araba had really seen it or not seemed to make no difference, though just how that could be, Fedia was unable to explain.

Paradoxically, the "evil" eye may act because of a feeling of admiration, not on account of any envy at all, and the same may be said of the evil mouth, for overpraise is immediately resented, and in certain cases (p. 97) a person who desires a thing must be given it. A survival of each of these is found in our objection to being stared at and to "gushing." The idea of the evil eye is perhaps due to the power of fascination such as that possessed by snakes. Mai-Ja-Chikki is, in fact, the personification of it. The evil mouth is probably connected in origin with the curse, both being the word of a person, the power of which has been explained in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*.³

Some of the charms against evil-wishing are easily obtained, and any number can be used in combination. I saw one child—an Arab, however—with a silver chain round its neck, to which were fastened in order a scimitar, a fish, two cowries, crossed keys, a hand, a crescent, and a square prayer-board on one side of which was a fish, on the other a branch, all of the above being of silver except the shells. The hand (of Fatima, it is generally supposed) is a great favourite in Tunis, and one sees it above the great majority of doorways; in Tripoli there is hardly one, and

this is only to be expected, since the sign is an old Carthaginian one, representing not the hand of Fatima at all, but that of Tanith. But it is even more ancient than that, for we find the hand mentioned very early in the Bible—*e.g.* in swearing (Gen. xxiv. 2, 3), and the laying on of hands was employed by the Jews symbolically to denote the transfer of some influence. It has been thought, however, that the amulet is so curiously similar to the thunderbolt of Adad, worn in the necklet of the Assyrian kings along with emblems for the sun, the moon, and Venus, that it may be a survival of that.⁴

The hand was painted upon the drum used in the bori dances by Fedia (see Fig. 28), because, she said, she might be so much engrossed in her playing that she could not see an enemy casting the evil eye upon her, but the sign of "five," as it is called, would throw it back into his face. The hand may be held up, fingers outstretched and pointing towards the evil-wisher, and this in Nigeria has now become a gesture of abuse, as has been pointed out elsewhere. In North Africa one should say at the same time *A idonka*—" (Back) in your eyes."

A string of cowries around the arm wards off the evil eye, for the glance is lost amongst the shells. Four single ones tied in the hair of a *dan wabi* (the child of a mother who has lost her previous children) are very powerful. A piece of string (generally double) tied around the wrist or ankle is a charm against pain (? rheumatism). Henna is a very powerful preservative against evil, so is the paint used upon the face. The teeth of a horse or the tusks of a boar are good preventives, while those of the antelope leucoryx are much prized by wrestlers. The inverted horseshoe, the horns of cattle and certain large fish-bones (see Ill. 27), are also efficacious.⁵ The curtain

on Auta's door had cotton moons and hands sewn on to it.

If you know that you have been affected by an evil-wisher, take a piece of the root of the *jiga* tree, pound it up, and then mix with water, knead into a lump, and eat it. Another excellent method is to touch the naked body, especially that of a child, with a red-hot iron.

When the whole household has begun to quarrel, it is evident that some evil influence has been at work. The



FIGS. 11 and 12.—Signs against the Evil Eye. The Designs were cut out of a Cotton Cloth and sewn on the Curtain in front of Auta's Door

door is examined, therefore, and, if any grease is found, one knows that some enemy has rubbed pig's fat there in order to cause dissensions in the house. This is easily rectified, for washing will remove the fat and its influence. If nothing is found, however, one may be sure that the evil eye has been at work, and salt ⁶ and *ruban*, *mistik*, and *tabl* are put into a pot over the fire. This mixture begins to splutter, and soon gives off incense, when the women take it up, and walk around the house, asking Allah to preserve them against someone who has not the fear of God in his

heart. By this ceremony the evil influence will be removed, and the household can settle down again in peace—well, comparative peace.

One charm against the evil eye and the evil mouth is prepared as follows ; it is also a remedy. Steal secretly a few threads of the cloth, a lock of hair, or a piece of anything personal belonging to the man or woman suspected, and put it into a vessel with a piece of *Kwaro*, one of *Sawiya*, and a little salt. Wave this round the head seven times, then throw the contents of the vessel upon the fire, and, while the smoke is rising, step over it seven times. Then kneel down by the fire, and brush one arm with the other alternately, seven times, and lastly fling both hands towards the back, as if throwing the smoke over the shoulders.

The following is said to be a general charm, protecting one against everything if done often enough, and sufficiently far in advance of the injury intended. Some leaves of the faru tree are boiled in water, and allowed to cool. The pot having been taken into the bush and placed upon an ant-hill, the person places one foot on either side, and washes himself (or herself) and the charm is complete.

Lastly let me mention that the remains of a dog's food are an exceedingly powerful preventive and remedy, but one must eat them immediately the animal has left them, and he must not be called off for the purpose—this wise precaution preventing the charm from becoming too common, for the animals are always ravenous.

There seems to be but little doubt that the influence of the evil eye and the evil mouth respectively is exerted by means of a bori, the look or wish sending one in the required direction to do the work of the evil-wisher. That

the evil influence proceeds from the head (the eyes, or mouth) of the ill-wisher, the seat of the bori, does not prove anything, but we find in an ancient record that the victim was supposed to receive the influence in exactly the same manner as does a dancer at the rites. Heliodorus tells us that "the air, infected by the malign influence, penetrates the eyes, nose and breath of the victim, and carries with it the bitterness of the envy with which it is surcharged." He argues forcibly that love is of the same origin as disease which through the sight strikes passion into the soul—compare our expression "love-sick." It was believed in England at the time of the Black Death that even a glance from a sufferer was sufficient to infect the person looked at, and the Hausa avenges himself upon his enemies by bribing a bori (a disease-demon) to attack them—we have had just lately an example of the use of modern disease-demons (bacilli) to kill off inconvenient wives. Again, it was a widely spread belief that fascination was a power derived from a pact with the devil, who helped the fascinator by infecting with evil the person looked at. Some of the charms (*e.g.* writings), rites (the cleansing of the house), and other means of protection (the wearing of the veil) against ill-wishing are also used against bori, and this is not strange, for the Hausas regard Mai-Ja-Chikki as the personification of the evil eye (see p. 328), the same character being ascribed to Lilith by the Jews in Palestine. When a bori has been sent out upon its work it must accomplish something, and, if it cannot reach the intending victim, it may return and attack the ill-wisher himself, for, after he has sent it upon its mission, he no longer has any power over it. Again, if a bori be cheated out of a promised human sacrifice, it will kill the person who has invoked it. Surely these facts give us the reason

for the expression "Back in your eyes" to a person with the evil eye.

The idea is seen too in the fact that a blessing cannot be recalled (H.S.C., p. 140), just as "the word of the Lord cannot return to Him void" (Isa. lv. 11), and in our expression "curses come home to roost," or, as the Hausa has it, "chaff falls again upon the winnower." In England, when a spirit had been summoned, it was necessary to dismiss it again by the appropriate "Licence to depart," otherwise the evil forces would have been only too glad to avenge themselves upon the operator for having disturbed them. Lastly, as has been mentioned, the Hausa says that a ground-nut treated in the proper manner (p. 183) actually becomes a bori, and does the work, but it is just as likely that the rite really summons—does not create—one, though in either case the statement gives us the necessary link. This explanation seems to be the correct one, for it has been recorded that among the Nabateans of the Lower Euphrates a sorcerer would spit upon an effigy of a person to be injured, and tie a knot in a cord as evidence of his evil intention. "To these processes and malevolent words a wicked spirit is united, which comes forth from the operator's mouth covered with saliva. Many evil spirits then descend and the result of all is that the magician causes the victim to be attacked by the desired evil." 7

There are other enemies than one's human rivals, and although the treatment of most of the complaints would not be appropriately described in this chapter, one or two prescriptions may be mentioned, since they are certainly more magical than medical. Uwal Yara is likely to attack children, as has been said elsewhere. To cure a little victim, get a black beetle known as *Khenfusa* or

Gurgunguma, put it inside a hollow stalk, close it up, and tie the stalk around the child's neck. At the same time rub the throat from the sides upwards and towards the front, and the spirit (? croup) will be vomited up. Needless to say, the Hausa regards the rubbing as a very unimportant accessory.

For a different kind of attack (probably convulsions) make three tiny cuts on the forehead, small of the back, inside each knee, and between the thumb and first finger of each hand. Then mix some gunpowder with water and the urine of a camel, and rub this on the cuts so as to mix it with the blood. If the attack is only a slight one the patient will recover, if a bad one it will die—and no wonder.

For the bite of a scorpion, squash the insect upon the spot and then get certain healing roots, and wash the wound. For a dog's bite put a little of the hair upon the wound, together with certain roots. This is applicable only to a bite from a dog in the house; if bitten by a mad dog in the streets there is hardly any cure, for one cannot get any of its hair. Kneeling to a dog is, as one knows,⁸ a remedy for certain boils. The following two prescriptions are more like charms than medicines. For soreness of heart pound up a small white kola-nut, chew it, and then take a draught of water and swallow the whole. For sore eyes take a little of the fruit of the *Fidili* shrub, pound it up, and, having mixed it with the gall of a crow and some antimony, paint the mixture upon the eyelids.

Lastly comes the elixir of life, for these simple people are no less innocent than we are—or were—and it is comforting to know that the leaves of the *Namijin Gabbaruwan Kassa*, if ground into a powder, and worn in a leather case as a *laiya*, will prolong life. But a more general—and

perhaps more useful—mode of employment is to mix it with potash in water as a cure for hoarseness.

A man is not necessarily contented with passive resistance, for he knows that only by active means can he hope to defeat his enemies, so he must find some way of hitting back, or even of getting in the first blow.

If another man thinks too much of his work, and you wish to show the fact in a perfectly legitimate manner, the following charm may prove useful. Suppose, for instance, that he has built a better wall than you have—not, of course, that you would be guilty of a feeling of mere jealousy! Catch a chameleon and press it with the left hand against the side of a vessel, then take a deep breath, and, while holding it, cut the chameleon in two with a knife held in your right hand. Collect the blood, and, using it as ink, write a sentence upon a piece of paper, and, when dry, fold the paper up. Next time that you are going past the other man's wall, hold this paper in your hand, look at the wall, and tell it to fall down. It will do so immediately! The only way of avoiding such a disaster is for the person threatened to stick into the crevices pieces of paper upon which magic letters or words have been written by a mallam. This has been copied from the Arabs, many of whose houses can be seen to be protected in this manner.

People can be injured by means of their footprints or by the impress of their bodies upon sand or soft ground, for not only may the place where they are going to sit be prepared previously, but also the earth upon which their bodies have left something of themselves can be used against them. As a good deal has appeared elsewhere upon the injury of an enemy by such means,⁹ it is not necessary to give further instances here, but it is well to note that

supposing you want to get a man turned out of the King's Council because more attention is paid to his advice than yours, you should go to the person who sweeps the ground after each meeting, and bribe him to sprinkle some flour which you give him upon the spot where your rival is to sit. If this is done, you will be avenged next day, for the other will bring himself into disfavour, and will be turned out of the Council.

Blood is always dangerous, for wherever there is blood there will the bori be also, and the person who treads upon it will be certain to hurt one, and to be punished accordingly. A person after having been cupped—a very common operation, performed by the barbers—must be careful to hide his blood in the ground so that it may not be taken by an enemy.

In the streets of Tunis there is no need to cover up one's spittle, for there is so much about that no one could possibly know which was yours, but if alone with an enemy you must certainly hide it and take care that he does not take it and the earth upon which it has fallen. If two men hate one another, and one steps over the other's spittle, the former will get a sore throat. This seems somewhat strange, but it is evident that the person spitting cannot be injured, else he would be more careful. How devoutly one who has to walk in the street wishes that it were the other way about !

If you place a bowl of water before you, and, after having poured some specially prepared medicines (from roots) into it, call your enemy by name, he will answer wherever he is ; he will be bound to answer. When he has done so, plunge a knife into the water, and he will be so much injured that he will die. This charm is seldom worked except at night, because you have a better chance

then to prevent people knowing what you are doing, and also you can call the soul instead. Haj Ali says that an outline of the enemy may be drawn in the sand instead of using the bowl of water, and that the same result will ensue. An arrow would be of no use, for "one does not stab with such a weapon."

As will be mentioned later, the water-spirits can be enticed out of their mounts at the bori-dances by presenting to them a calabash of water, but at one time it would seem, judging by the above, to have been believed that any spirits could be treated in this way. This is quite natural, for the Assyrians thought so, as did the Aztecs, who placed a bowl of water with a knife in it behind the door in order to keep away sorcerers, for, on seeing their reflection transfixed, they would flee in terror. This corresponds to our belief in the ill-luck consequent upon the smashing of a mirror, and also the looking in one which is cracked, as in each case the reflection is broken.¹⁰

Haj Ali told me that if one treated a black ground-nut or even a needle with the proper medicines, and told it to kill one's enemy, it would go and pierce his heart and kill him, for the nut or needle was turned into a bori by these means. Unfortunately, he had forgotten the proper medicines.

Sometimes a charm may react upon the person making it, as we have seen. Excrement is not dangerous in a magical sense (it is a pity that it is not, for in that case the Hausas might be cleaner), but the urine is sometimes used to work injury. Haj Ali knew of a case which happened in Dan Gantammo (Maradi) while he was there. In a wrestling match, one youth was thrown four times by one of his opponents, and he determined to be avenged, so he went to a mallam and asked for a charm which would

make him invincible. The mallam told him to obtain some of his antagonist's urine, and while watching the house carefully, the youth saw the other come out and make water. After the other had re-entered his house, the youth scraped up the sand upon which the water had fallen, and brought it to the mallam, who told him to go home. Next day, not the victor but the beaten youth was taken ill, and at length he became so bad that he knew that the charm had miscarried, and told his father of what he had done. The latter went off to the other youth's parents and told them, and, seeing that it was merely a case of childish jealousy, the father of the latter prevailed upon his son to go to the sick youth. Upon his arrival, he tapped him with his hand three times upon the chest, and immediately the patient felt so much better that he was able to move about again. The other said : " If you go to the mallam's house now, you will hear some news," and then he went home. Next day, the youth went to the mallam's house, and found everyone mourning, for at the very hour that he himself had been restored to health the mallam had been stricken with an illness, and he had died soon afterwards.

This is not always the case, of course, for if the earth with the water be thrown upon a fire, as the smoke rises so will illness seize the person whom it is desired to injure. Or again, a mallam may make a preparation from it which is to be sprinkled upon the floor in a place where he must tread. The bone of a dead man also is a powerful agency if steeped in some medicine and then stuck in the ground by the side of a fire. The mallam working this charm speaks the name of the enemy continuously, and as the fire dies down (it is not fed) so will the life of the person named pass away.

CHAPTER XIV

MAGIC IN THE FIELDS—AGRICULTURE

THE Hausas have always been great traders, but they have been fine agriculturists as well, and so one is not surprised to find a good many magical practices designed to increase the yield of the farmers, either by making the rain fall when required or by causing the crops to grow of themselves by supernatural means.

In Northern Nigeria, amongst the Magazawa of Gobir, the rain was made to fall and to cease in the following manner, according to Haj Ali. The rainmakers were nine in number, and they would go round with wooden clubs to a *tsamiya* (tamarind) or a *gamje* (rubber) tree near the gate of the town, and sacrifice a black bull, the blood being allowed to flow into the roots. Then four pots of *giya* (beer) were brought, and were drunk by the rainmakers. After this, the eldest of the nine (Mai-Shibko) would arise, put on the hide, and call out: "You Youths, You Youths, You Youths, ask the man [Allah] to send down water to us, tell the Owner of the Heavens that men are dying here, ask him to spit upon us." The eight others would arise and stand around the old man, and call out in a loud voice what they had been told to say, and add: "If you do not send the rain we will kill this old man. We are true to you, see, we have sacrificed a bull to you." Then, brandishing their weapons in the air, they would continue: "If you do not send down the rain we will throw up our clubs at you." After that they would cook the flesh of the bull, and as the

smoke arose the clouds would begin to appear. When they had eaten the meat, they would put the old man upon another bull, which they had brought with them, and all would go back to their town, but they would not separate, for everyone would go to the medicine-house. No sooner would they have started back than the wind would arise, and by the time they had entered the house the rain would have commenced to fall, and it would continue for as long as the rainmakers remained together.

When enough rain had fallen, the old man would order one of the others to go outside, and tell Allah that they had had sufficient, and the youngest would go out of the hut and wave his club, and say : " Hey, Owner of the Heavens, that is enough. O Allah, stop making water, oh, One with the big stomach, that is enough," and the rain would stop within half-an-hour. Then the old man would send four of the younger ones out in the four different directions with orders to travel from sunrise to noon in a straight line, and at the spot where they found themselves at midday to dig down an arm's length into the ground, and see if they still felt water. Upon their return they would make their reports to the old man, and if all was satisfactory, he would inform the chief, who would cause a proclamation to be made throughout the town that everyone could commence to sow. Should the rain not fall again for some time—the rains are fitful at the commencement of the wet season—it would be again called down in a manner somewhat similar to that described above, but instead of sacrificing, the rainmakers would simply throw up their clubs in the air to punish Allah, in some way hurting or insulting His sky. They do this during an eclipse of the moon also, threatening to hit the sun should it not let the moon go.

For seven days previous to the rite, and until it had been

completed, the rainmakers might have no relations with their wives, though women and children might be present at the ceremonies outside the town, but there was no prohibition regarding food. The old man would not have been killed even if no rain had come—but Haj Ali says that failure was impossible—though, if suspected of false dealing, he would have been removed. The threat was made simply because everyone knew that Allah did not like hearing the younger men abusing their elders. Questioned upon this, and upon the threats and the language used to Allah generally, Haj Ali said that the Magazawa were Allah's children, and that He did not mind what they did, for He knew that although they acknowledged Him they were only ignorant pagans who could not read and write, so He forgave them everything, and did what they asked Him to do. He only laughed at them.

The rainmaker seems to be of a later period than the priestly king, for the latter did everything in his time. But when the Filani conquered the country, they put in their own men as chiefs, and although these were in many cases the proper heirs, special independent priests were appointed to attend to the rain and other rites. But as the Filani supervision was very unequal, king-killing might be the rule in one town, although it had died out in the next one to it.

The Mohammedans often employ the Magazawa to make rain for them, just as the Hausas act for the Arabs in Tunis, the pagan rites being either in substitution for or as a complement to their own, and "the Hausa magic never fails." All over North Africa the negro is renowned for his magical powers,¹ and in certain cases the presence of a young negress is a necessity even to the Arab magician, though usually, it is an old woman who has the greater

reputation. The rainmakers themselves did not spit, nor did they cause the bull to make water, though both of these things are done to-day in North Africa, a cow being used instead of a male animal. The Mohammedan Hausas worship Allah as long as everything goes well, but if He fails them, they invoke if not exactly the devil, at any rate influences which are more or less suspicious. A rather curious inversion is recorded from Northern Nigeria, and it is worth noting because it confirms to some extent the information given me by Haj Ali, although the following refers to the Yerghum, a tribe of Bauchi. "One Sunday some few weeks ago we had a most remarkable experience," says the writer. "During our afternoon service we were disturbed by the sounds of yelling, beating of drums, and blowing of whistles. On looking out we saw a company of men and women coming in the direction of our house. Slowly and orderly the procession passed in front of us, dressed most hideously in skins and feathers, brandishing spears, knives, etc., and twisting their bodies into such attitudes as might defy the efforts of the most accomplished gymnasts. Thus they proceeded as far as our well, and returned in the same manner. After our service was over we were waited upon by the oldest chief in the district (supposed to be ninety years old) and one of the local chiefs with their headmen. They came to tell us that they had just been asking for rain. No rain had fallen for over a fortnight, and if the crops were destroyed they would all die of hunger. They knew 'The Mallam' was their friend, and that he prayed to God, and God heard him. Would he now pray for rain and so save them all from hunger and distress." ²

A photograph of Mohammedan Hausas praying for rain in Nigeria appears in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*.

The modern customs of those people have come from the north, and it will be as well to note what happens there.

In Tunis and Tripoli, if there is no rain, and the crops are being ruined, the Arabs go in procession outside the city with drums and flags, and pray for rain, and, according to Haj Ali, cows are made to urinate and the roofs of houses are wetted with water by the Arabs and Hausas with them as a means of bringing down rain. But if there is no result, the negroes are summoned to use their magic. Eight years ago, when the grain in Tunis was about half ripe, there was a drought, and, the Arabs' prayers having failed, the aid of the Hausas was sought. So, early in the morning, they dressed up in all their finery (Arabs may do the opposite), and marched with flags, drums, and clappers to the shrine of Sidi Bu'l Hassan in the Arab cemetery. One of the Hausas had had a dream in which he was told that two black bulls and a sheep (not a ram or a he-goat on this occasion) had to be sacrificed, and these animals were provided accordingly by the Arabs.

On arriving at a little flat space near the top and to the left, the bori spirits took possession of some of the performers, while right upon the top the dance with sticks (*takai*) took place, incense being burned in the vicinity. At noon, the sacrificial animals were killed, and while the meat was being cooked, the young men seized four pieces of meat, and perhaps also a fowl, and ran away with them, and tried to eat them before being caught and despoiled by the others, who were always successful, and then ate what they could. After a time this was stopped by the elders, and what was left of the flesh (perhaps not more than one-half) was brought to the Arifa (Chief Priestess), who, helped by her Kasheka, then apportioned the fura (flour and water) and milk which were first drunk, and then

the meat, the *Arifa Karama* (Little Priestess) serving the women, the *Sarikin Samari* (Chief of the Youths) the men, while a youth known as the *Fagge* (evidently a Fag) brought water to any who called him. When all had eaten, the dishes were brought back to the Arifa, and were washed by the women. Then the procession formed up again, and marched back to the principal temple (Gidan Jama'a), and the rain wet them through before they had had time to get there.

Every third year, a visit is made to the Manubia, and here there is no summoning of the bori, but only the ordinary dancing and the meat-stealing. It is now held after the harvest, because, according to Haj Ali, about six years ago one of the youths snatched up some embers with a piece of meat, and when he dropped these they set the crop on fire. There therefore seems to have been some idea of obtaining a good crop in this rite originally, though it seems to be performed rather to secure sunshine than rain. If so, the rites on the hill of Sidi Bu'l Hassan are a curious mixture. Whereas all the bori communities go to Sidi Bu'l Hassan, only that of the Gidan Ziria go to the Manubia, but three years ago all joined together to go before the harvest as there was a drought, and the same pleasing success crowned their efforts.

The stealing of the meat is said to drive away all past misfortune, and to prevent the occurrence of fresh evils.³ It is just possible that it symbolises the lightning,⁴ but it has certain resemblances to a rite even now found in Morocco, in which girls steal a doll—dressed in a pointed bonnet—from each other, this being an invocation for rain. The explanations are not at all antagonistic.

The takai has much the same effect, so originally it was a religious rite (and it still is in North Africa) rather



15.—Looking towards Carthage.

16.—The Shrine of Sidi Bu 'l Hassan.

than a war dance, which it seems to be now in Nigeria. Another man says that it is performed simply to keep people awake, because it would not do to sleep at such a time. But this seems a quite inadequate explanation, especially as the people do not eat until after the dances, and there is but little doubt that it is a rite to promote fertility, the perambulations representing the apparent journeys of the sun around the earth, while the beating of the sticks or hands helps to produce the rain. Against this theory, however, is the fact that West African dancers may move in the contrary direction—as do the Kajjis and other head-hunters. So it may be that the dancers going round in opposite concentric circles (right arm to right arm) represent the powers of good and evil, the beating or clapping symbolising the constant struggle between them, for in North Africa a perambulation in a contrary direction to the sun is unlucky (as at our mess tables), while one in the opposite direction helps the shining orb on its way, and so brings good fortune. In this case, the dance corresponds to the *kora* of North Africa, and to our football and lacrosse, once religious invocations to Tanith. Perhaps the best explanation is that takai is a survival of a mixture of this and another ancient northern rite. Herodotus describes a fight between two parties of girls who fenced with sticks and threw stones (? the clapping) at each other, many of them falling in the fray. This was a rite in honour of Tanith, the goddess of fertility and of war, and there is another point of resemblance—namely, that in both the *kururuwa* or *guda* (Hausa), *zagrit* (Arab), or *yuyu* (European) is heard in each.⁵

It is only during the rites to produce rain that takai and the cooking and stealing of the meat must take

place high up upon a hill. The game of *kora*, which in some parts resembles football, in others lacrosse, is also a rite for rain. Haj Ali told me that it was played before harvest but not at other times, "because the people had no time to spare," but that is not the original reason, of course. It is somewhat strange that in European schools, the natives are being taught a modern development of their own games !

In addition to the foregoing and the Ziara mentioned later, there are other regular festivals called Sadaka (or Daffa Ble) and also intermittent ones, some depending for their performance upon the dream of a member of the community. Some fourteen years ago (according to Haj Ali) the then Arifa of the Gidan Kuri, named Yar Galadima, fell ill, and nothing seemed to do her any good. At last she had a dream in which she was told that if she offered up a sacrifice at a certain shrine close to the Bab el Khadari, she would be cured. She informed the community of this, and the members at once decided to go with her, and, a sacrifice of a goat having been made, she immediately recovered. This so impressed the community that an annual sacrifice was proposed, but the Arifa said that she had been told that every two years would be sufficient. She lived for six years after her dream, but ever since her death the rite has been kept up. On a certain morning—there is no fixed day of the week, it depends upon the work of the community—all go to the tomb, and, two fowls and a he-goat having been sacrificed, the bori take possession of their mounts. While the meat is being cooked, the youths try to steal pieces as at Bu'l Hassan, while others dance the takai. When the good things have been finished, and the dishes returned, a collection is made from the onlookers, a part of the money



17.—The Manubia, Tunis, where rites for rain are performed.
 18.—The Marabout at the gate of Al Khadari.

thus obtained being placed in the *Sandukan Kuri* (the public chest of the community), the rest being divided amongst those members taking part, a good collection giving the Galadima four francs, the Arifa two and a half, the Magajiya one and a half, and the Kasheka one franc. The cooks, the Sarikin Samari, Arifa Karama, and the Fagge have a small payment in addition to their share, and at the Ziara it amounts to half-a-franc a day; they may also have some extra scraps of food which have been left over.

One does not always want rain, however, especially if one be a trader. Take some berries of the *Ta-Ga-Rana*, and pound them up with the head of a mouse, and, after boiling in water with a couple of fowls' feathers, dry and put into a gourd. If rain threatens, pour a little of the powder on to the hand, and then blow it off, and the rain will be driven away simultaneously. The methods of preventing rain are very rare, for where the people depend to a great extent upon their crops, anyone producing a drought would be an enemy of the community.

The Hausas of Nigeria may grow a few fruit-trees in their compounds, such as the banana or paw paw, but there is no real cultivation of anything except cereals, nuts, and vegetables, fruit-trees being uncared for, although some are known to yield very good food—*e.g.* the *dinya*, a species of plum. Great attention is paid, however, to the various kinds of millet, nuts, and roots.

Before clearing a farm, the appropriate rites already described will be performed, and before cutting down certain trees, such as the *rimi* (silk-cotton), the *kiriya* (which yields charcoal), and the *maje* (which yields a sweet scent), it is necessary to obtain permission of the particular spirit concerned. First a fowl or two is sacrificed, and a

cloth is tied round the trunk in the evening. Next morning, if the cloth is still there, the tree may be cut down, but if it has blown away the person must ask elsewhere, for that shows that the spirit has rejected the request.

Uwar-Gwona (Farm Mother) looks after the crops, and so sacrifices of a he-goat or a couple of fowls are made to her by those who worship her when the crops begin to appear above the ground, and she will take corn, etc., from the fields of people who are not her true followers, and add it to the farms of those who are. Some of those who do not sacrifice to her trust to Magiro or another bori, and obtain a powerful charm instead, but he demands a human sacrifice. For Uwar-Gwona, the worshippers throw certain herbs upon the fire in the centre of the farm, and as soon as the smoke begins to rise they run away. If they look behind they will go mad, and perhaps die, but if not, and if the rite has been carried out properly, when they come again next day they will see that there has been a great increase both in the number of blades and in their height, this increase continuing until the harvest. But this is not the only advantage. Should anyone try to steal this corn he will hear a voice saying: "Leave it alone; leave it alone." If he should disregard this warning and eat of the corn, his stomach will swell, and the only person able to cure him will be the owner of the farm. The final sacrifice to Uwar-Gwona or other bori, except Magiro, is the same—viz. two fowls when the corn is ripe.

Salah told me that he had seen the following ceremony at Daura. Just before sowing-time, the old men of the town went out amongst the farms, and took up a position on an ant-hill, where they drank flour and water and sour milk, staying there a week, and offering a sacrifice of a he-goat and fowls each day, the people of the town bringing

them food. On the seventh day, everyone was sent away, and the old men erected a screen of black cloths around their sanctuary. Then they walked round and round inside, slapping their loin-coverings, and calling out : "Uwar-Dawa, break up the ground, the time for sowing has come." She replied : "So and So will have much good corn, So and So but little, So and So will die, and So and So will go mad," and so on, foretelling the events to come. When she had ceased, the screen was removed, and the rite was at an end. Uwar-Dawa's voice was not produced by a bull-roarer, "boys have something of the kind, but if a man did that sort of thing in a religious rite the spirit would be offended and would refuse to reply." Nor would she take any notice if too many men called her at once. She would wait until the following year in either case, and then the crops would be a failure for she would not look after them.

According to Auta, the Magazawa practised another rite to promote the fertility of the fields, called Fittan Fura, three variants of which have already been described in Chapter VIII. A number of boys were shut up for a month before the harvest, being fed up specially, and, though allowed to go out for exercise, they might not go near women during this time. The boys did not need to be those with their fathers and mothers alive, but they had to have either parents or guardians, for they did not work during their month of seclusion, and had to be supplied with plenty of food from outside. Usually, a rich man paid for the whole school, a similar arrangement being observed sometimes with regard to circumcision, for this was supposed to render the rite extra efficacious. On the day that the sheaves were to be bound, the boys were liberated and made to wrestle. Sacrifices were

offered up, and, after blood had been smeared upon some of the corn-bins, the crops were gathered in.⁶ If a boy had had relations with a woman during the month, he would be injured when he wrestled,⁷ and, in order to make all the offerings mentioned above, the sacrificer had to be continent for three days previously, and had to wash himself before performing the rite. But there was no restriction from food at this time, in fact, the contrary was the case, the extra allowance being for the purpose of making the boys able to wrestle well. The Garabawa of Katsina erect a pole in the village, and hold wrestling-contests in the vicinity, it being supposed to symbolise in some way the prowess of the youths. So long as it stands, they will be strong, but it must stand of itself, for if it falls down, no other will be erected until the youths have grown up, and another generation has taken their place.⁸

The first one, two, or three heads of corn would be hung up in the hut-roof and left there until the next harvest was ready, when they would be replaced and eaten. This is said to cause the crops not to fail.

It is not only the crops which need to be considered, but certain trees will well repay attention, although they can give no direct result in the way of food, so it is very useful to know the following charm. Sometimes the kawo tree has a twin trunk (trees are sometimes artificially made to grow together), and if fresh milk be poured upon the roots of such an one for seven days, it becomes inhabited by a bori who will be friendly. "If you come close up to it, your hair will stand on end; if you scratch the trunk, not sap, but blood, like human blood, exudes." This tree will then give the sacrificer invisibility against any man or animal pursuing him, and if you see such a tree, you will probably find that passers-by have left

something near it so as to be able to claim the benefit in case of necessity at some future occasion. For instance, if the worshipper's goats are lost, he ties a piece of rope or string (not necessarily belonging to them) around the double trunk, and tells the bori what is his trouble. He then goes home content, for "he knows that the goats will sleep in safety, since, even if leopards and hyenas manage to find them, they will not be able to do them any harm." Haj Ali heard of a case in which a man's cattle had been driven off by a raiding party. He went to the tree and did as above, and next day all but one returned—having escaped during the night—and no doubt the other would have arrived safely also had it not been unfortunately killed for food, and so was unable to profit by the tree's kindness. If a wife or child is missing, a rag should be tied to the tree. Haj Ali knew of a case in which a woman was captured by slavers, and was carried off some distance from her town. At midnight she was awakened, and saw the tree standing over her, and, recognising it, she got up quietly. Immediately the tree began moving off, and, following it, she was brought to its usual spot, whence she found her way home without difficulty.

Sometimes a certain tree may be bound up with the life of a member of the family, though it would seem that the tree must either be a totem or else one which is specially designated as having a connexion. This is more in the realm of folk-lore, however, so it need not be discussed here, as it has been mentioned in the previous book.

If you see a large hollow tree, you know that there is a bori inside it. Bori are everywhere but there are more in a hollow tree than in one which is not hollow. If you were to go inside, merely from curiosity, you would be seized by the bori there, but if you were running from a

wild beast or rain, and said "Bismillah," you could enter in safety, for many of the bori are good, and are quite ready to help one who seeks their aid, thus ensuring that when the name of Allah has been invoked no danger may ensue. Even a quarrelsome bori would hesitate to hurt a person who had said "Bismillah."

It is not absolutely clear in the case of the tree near the shrine of Sidi Sa'ad (see Chapter XVII.) whether the two are connected or not. The Hausas say that Sidi Sa'ad once lived in the shelter nearer its foot, but as it is some distance from the shrine, and it is fairly certain that Sidi Sa'ad did not live there, and also, as nearly all of the rags upon it have been placed there by Arab women, we may suppose that it has its own distinct virtues. However, the question will be argued later, when the ceremonies have been described, suffice it to say here that this idea is often held in the case of primitive people, the tree itself being able to imprison good and evil spirits by its intertwining branches.

Any tree may be dangerous. There is one in the centre of the Gidan Jama'a at Tunis which is old and dying, but no one dares to remove it, nor would the house be safe without the presence of some of the Masu-Bori. The Arab landlord turned all the Hausas out some two years ago, and took up his residence there. He made up his mind to fell the tree, and one day he cut a few twigs from it, but within a few days a son died, and soon afterwards his father, while an enormous black he-goat (a bori, needless to say) rushed about every Thursday night and terrified him. He could not fight against this, so he and his family left the house, and the Masu-Bori returned. The Hausas are noted for their humour, and in this case they seem to have been aided by a little good fortune! A few Arabs

live in one of the rooms, but they could not do so were there no Hausas there to keep the bori quiet. Even so, no one can touch the tree ; the blood of sacrifices for many years has been poured upon its roots, and it is absolutely full of spirits.

The Money Tree, *Jato*, *Itachen Kurdi*, has been described in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*,⁹ a piece of it will turn any metal which it touches into money ; even a twig, if placed in a hut containing beans, will turn them all into cowries. “ In Soba, a town of Zaria, there are plenty of these trees, but they are never seen during the day, and so are difficult to find.” It is said that some mallams can make laiyyas which have the same effect, and this, perhaps, accounts for the tales in which a thief takes a pot with a snake in it to a holy man, meaning to injure him, and when the latter opens the pot, it contains only silver. When I asked my informant why a mallam was ever poor if he had such wonderful powers, he confessed that that point had never struck him, but that is not altogether surprising, for I once heard tales of wonderful riches from a company promoter who was wearing tin studs in his frayed shirt-cuffs, and I believe that he easily obtained the necessary number of Directors (*sic*)—who paid fees for their positions—though the ventures are not even yet regarded as “ trust securities.”

An orchid is said to have a long, thin stem which passes down close to, but separate from, the tree-trunk, and a root in the ground. No one can see these except a boka or a very learned mallam, who can take the roots and make powerful charms with them, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter. They are to be envied for their valuable—and lucrative—accomplishment.

CHAPTER XV

MAGIC IN THE FIELDS (*continued*)—WAR, HUNTING, AND GAMES

THE Hausas have been fighting during the whole period of their history, so it is only to be expected that they have many magical practices connected with war. But, strange to say, hardly any pagan rite is now known, and the people seem to trust in Mohammedan charms and *laiyas*. Perhaps this is due to the fact that they were conquered by the Mohammedan Filani, for in that respect, at any rate, the verses from the Koran were more concerned with victory than were the pagan medicines. Before a war, the highest officers ate an albino if available, the flesh being cut up into small pieces. This was a local custom, in all probability, for sacrificial flesh was always distributed, as we have seen, and the custom of summoning men by sending them pieces of meat is as well known in West Africa to-day as it was to the Israelites in the days of Samuel.¹ As has been observed amongst so many other peoples, war was a sacred function, and the tabus upon the warriors resemble those imposed upon the pilgrims during the Ziara. Rites for the success of the expedition were performed by the *Uban Yaki* (Father of War), or by a priest, and it is now impossible to ascertain what these were, but those for individual safety in battle were no doubt to a great extent the same as those employed for self-preservation in the house. Some have been described already ; here are a few more.

If a warrior wishes for a charm by means of which he can become invisible to his enemies he must prepare a *laiyan zana* from various roots and wear it. If pursued or driven back, the wearer can turn sideways, and immediately be lost to sight, and he can then cut at his enemies as they pass him by. But with this as with the other war charms, the man must have been continent for fifteen days at least before he puts the charm to the test.

If a young girl with her first teeth winds thread upon an appropriate *laiya* obtained from a mallam, no arrow will be able to wound the wearer. Again, however invulnerable a man may be against arrows shot by adults on account of the medicines which he has taken, a boy with his first teeth will be able to wound him unless provided with the foregoing charm.

Some of the men in the hostile army may be private as well as public enemies, and when that is the case it is useful to know that when a man is preparing poison for his arrows, the poison will be rendered much more deadly if he indicates the kind of death which he desires the victim to die by himself performing the appropriate movements. Thus, if he throws himself down and kicks, the victim will fall and go into convulsions ; if he clutches parts of his body, the victim will tear himself to pieces ; if he holds a small gourd of water upside down and allows the water to trickle out slowly (this is done by closing and opening an air-hole in the bottom, the neck being very small) the victim will drain himself away ; and if he makes certain noises by blowing with his lips, the victim will become ill internally, and lose control of himself.

The Hausas of Northern Nigeria were renowned as hunters, and their legends tell of great heroes who slew elephants and carried them home, perhaps several at a

time, upon their shoulders, and, as they were always better hunters than the Filani, their magic in this sport kept its place. But they did not trust to magic alone by any means, and it may be as well to describe the practical means taken to help the bori to answer their prayers. The people hunted in various ways, in parties and individually, and they do so still, but not to anything like the same extent, and as the accounts were given to me in the past tense I maintain it, though I know from personal observation that most of the traps, etc., are still in use. Many of the Bauchi pagans hold an annual "Opening of the Forest."

The man who was a hunter by profession would generally be aware of the habitat of the animals which he hunted, but it might happen that he was in a new country or upon a trading trip. He would be able to know by the spoor what game was in the vicinity, and would follow it up. I have noticed that many of the Hausas, although not hunters, knew the tracks of a number of animals. When he had viewed his quarry, he would have to stalk the game in order to get near enough either (*a*) to shoot with his dane-gun or his bow and arrow, or (*b*) to give his dogs a chance of catching it, and the native is generally so excellent a scout that this was not very difficult to the properly qualified hunter. Often the head-dress (of a hornbill or other bird ²) was used where the cover did not allow of a very close approach, a short red skirt being worn sometimes underneath. The hunter moved up in a crouching position. He would not employ this method against the lion, leopard, elephant or wart-hog, though he might against the buffalo. With such large and fierce animals, the hunter would sit in a tree overlooking the road near a watering-place or other rendezvous and shoot

as the quarry passed. The dog had no special training ; the pup watched its parent.

Hunting parties were sometimes formed, and the procedure was either (a) to force the game into enclosures or pits, or (b), by employing beaters, to drive it on to the hunters who lay in ambush. The fences were merely light stockades, with several gates, above each of which one or more hunters were stationed, either with a dane-gun (perhaps firing a harpoon), a bow and arrow, or a harpoon to be thrown with the hand. Throwing-sticks were used too, and although they could not be made to return like the boomerang, "certain hunters knew charms which would make their arrows come back and enter their quiver"! Such a saving of cash and trouble!

In addition to the modes of active hunting, the Hausas used various kinds of traps,³ consisting of pits, running nooses, and weighted spears or harpoons. These and the arrows were smeared with several kinds of poison (*daffi*), and one decoction was used in water for animals, or in grain for birds, either to destroy them as vermin, or to obtain them as food.

Now it is obvious that it would have been of no use to make traps unless there had been animals to fall into them. If there were no hares the *Uban Farauta* would take off his sandals and throw them upon the ground, and hares would immediately be put up in all directions, while one boka, named Mandal of Dagana, could make elephants appear by dancing with his buttocks and shaking a magic rattle. Hyenas are notoriously wary beasts,⁴ and, since they always know what is happening, will never come if awaited. But a lotion may be made, and if a hunter washes with this, and dries himself in the air—he must not

go near the fire nor wipe himself—a hyena will be forced to come when he next sits up for it.

Fishing was done with nets, traps, dams, lines, spears, the hands, and by means of poison. The nets might be large like a seine, and being fitted with leads and floats (of wood) could be shot from a canoe, or they might be like bags about five feet long. In the latter case several men would take two each and dive to the bottom, and after having swept the bed for a short distance—the mouths of the nets being kept open with a stick—they would return to the surface.

The traps consisted of a form of lobster-pot and also a cage, the door of which was lowered when the fish were seen to be within. Generally both of these were used in connexion with a fence.

Dams were sometimes built across a part of the river away from the current, but the water was not bailed out. When this had been done, in the case of a pool, the fish were transfixed with a barbed spear, tickled and caught with the hand, or poisoned with the bark of the *dorowa* or *aduwa* tree, or they were stupefied with the *magimpa* plant. The hook was of iron, the line was made from the ramma fibre. Generally, the fisherman held the line so as to feel the strain at once, but in some cases a float of light wood might be used to give warning. The bait might be live worms or a piece of meat.

Hunting parties—which were composed of men only—were under the *Sarikin Bakka* (Chief Huntsman), but the *Sarikin Dowa* (King of the Forest—appointed for the occasion) was the Uban Farauta. The latter made charms against meeting the lion, leopard, and other dangerous beasts unprepared, against treading upon the snake, or stumbling upon bori. I am told that a jigo or

post was set up, to which were hung bows and arrows, and that these participated in the blessing. It is quite likely, for this ceremony takes place amongst other tribes of Northern Nigeria, and has been reported from Mecca.⁵ Offerings were made at the foot, but whether these were to the hunting bori or to the weapons themselves it is difficult to say. The two seem to have been connected, for even now the bori Sarikin Bakka lives in a small iron bow when not riding a human being. Before starting out the Chief Huntsman also sacrificed some fowls to Kuri, Jato, Sarikin Bakka, and Gajere Mai-Dowa, and perhaps also to another bori.

Many of the hunters made their own special arrow poisons and their charms, the secret of the composition of some of which, being known only to themselves, was jealously guarded. Only men could make these, and during the time of their preparation they might not speak to a woman; if they did, the mixtures would be thrown away, and fresh ingredients obtained. The charms were made in many ways, for they varied, of course, for the different dangers to be guarded against. If the leaves of a certain small plant were dried and ground, and then boiled with water and shea-butter into a paste, the paste being eaten by the hunter with his mouth only—his hands (as in some bori rites) not touching even the pot—he would be safe from leopards, for should one of these animals attack him, it would not be able to open its mouth. By some, the *Rumafada*, mixed with other herbs and ground and dried, was carried in a gourd. If a wounded animal attacked the hunter, a little of the powder sprinkled upon his head made him invisible and so able to complete his work in safety. One charm, rubbed upon the body (*ba dufuwan giwa*—giver of

darkness to the elephant) made the hunter invisible to elephants; another made an elephant become rigid when trying to trample upon the hunter who had drunk the concoction, thus giving him the chance to shoot from underneath. Another, again, caused snakes to run away on smelling it. The best one of all—and also very rare—gave the person possessed of the secret the power to transform himself into anything he liked.

The men composing a hunting-party might not have relations with their women upon the evening before starting, as they would be certain to fail next day, and perhaps even lose their lives if they did so. But they did not have to avoid them altogether, and, even when engaged in the hunt, they might speak to them should they come their way—an unusual occurrence, however. On their return, they were subject to no restrictions, and there seems not to have been any veto on food, either before or after the hunt.

The division of the spoil was simple, each man taking what he himself had killed. The chief, the owner of the land, if any, and the owner of the weapons, if borrowed, had no claim to any share of the bag except at the opening ceremony. He who had inflicted the first wound was regarded as having killed the animal, however slight the injury, because the weapon, being poisoned, must have killed the animal at some time or other. If a beast had been hit with six arrows belonging to six different men, he who had fired the first would pluck out the others and return them to their owners, for each knew his own arrow by his own particular method of binding the head to the shaft, the pattern thus formed by the sinew (from cattle) being his mark.⁶

Hunters and fishers did not form a particular class or

caste, neither did those who had charge of the ferries, but their chief was always nominated by the last one in office, who selected his younger brother, son, or pupil. The chief of the tribe did not need to act upon this nomination unless he liked, but if not, the usurper would soon die, and everyone would know that it was the rightful man who had killed him, although there would be no punishment because there could be no proof. Anyone might be a hunter, but only he whose father or uncle was a member of that profession would be able to learn the proper charms, and one could do nothing without them. The people themselves would not have agreed to the appointment of an uninitiated person, for no one would ever have had any meat if the Chief Huntsman had been ignorant of his trade, and as for the Chief of the Water, "who would trust himself in a canoe or on gourds without being certain that the proper rites had been performed for his safety?"

On a certain day, which had been fixed by the principal chief of the district, the hunters of each town assembled in a locality assigned to them, and all hunted together under the supervision of the chief and his suite, or under a nominee of his. This was called the *Bude Dowa* (opening of the forest), and, according to my informant (a hunter), a certain proportion of the game was given to the principal chief on this occasion. After the conclusion of this great hunt (which might last more than a day in a large district), each town was free to send out its hunting parties independently, and these did not need to confine themselves to the localities which had been assigned to them upon the opening day, although they had had to do so on that occasion, but they could not hunt previously to the *Bude Dowa*. Any breach of this rule would not only have

caused their charms to fail, but would have brought down the wrath of their neighbours.

There were, and are, numerous games played and contests waged by the Hausas, but only those which seem to have had some magical connexion need be considered here, for a general survey of them has appeared elsewhere.⁷

In the *Koraiya*, a Magazawa contest, each arm was encased in leather, and an iron weapon, in shape something like the rim of a pulley-wheel, was placed upon each wrist, according to Haj Ali. Two youths then attacked each other, and, if both were expert, each would prevent the other from touching him with the weapon, or, if he had plenty of *magani* (medicine) he would not be hurt even if he were struck.⁸

If a youth wished to become invincible in this contest, he went to a mallam or a boka, and tried to persuade him to tell him what to do. If the request was granted, the mallam or boka prepared medicine for seven days, and this was given to the youth, who drank it for ten days, during which time he could not even speak to a woman. Then he was ready for the test of his courage. He was sent to cross-roads at midnight, with orders to stay there, and, after a time, a bori would come along with a short, heavy stick, with which he would poke at the boy. If the latter took no notice, the bori would go on, but soon a bori with one eye glowing like fire would come up and make as if to seize him. If the youth remained unmoved, he too would pass on, and another bori like a spearman would appear, and thrust his weapon at him. If the youth took no notice, he also would pass, and a snake would spring at him. If this failed to produce any effect, a lame man would arrive, and if still with the same result, he would tell the youth to seize the bori who was following,

and would pass on. Last of all, a half-man would appear, and the youth would seize him, and demand the charm required.⁹ "What kind do you want?" the half-man would ask. "Do you wish to be able to kill your opponent with one blow, to knock him senseless after several blows, or simply to be able to win after a long struggle?" The youth would make his choice, release the half-man, and return home, having been warned by the half-man not to look behind, and not to speak to anyone until he had entered his own hut. Next morning, about 8 A.M., the youth would go to the mallam or boka, and report the result of his trial, and would state which charm he had obtained. If the first, the mallam or boka would say: "That was wrong, and, lest you should kill everybody, you shall have your power only once a year. If you contest at any other time, the charm will have no effect, and you will have to take your chance." If the youth had chosen the second charm, he would be warned not to fight too often; but if the third, the mallam or boka would approve, and place no restriction of any kind upon him.

Tests similar to the above are found all over the world. Sir E. B. Tylor notes "the descriptions by Zulu converts of the dreadful creatures which they see in moments of intense religious exaltation, the snake with great eyes and very fearful, the leopard stealing stealthily, the enemy approaching with his long assegai in his hand—these coming one after another to the place where the man has gone to pray in secret, and striving to frighten him from his knees."¹⁰ It is only natural to suppose that a youth brave enough to pass the tests will not fear a human foe, and will thus have the advantage of confidence in himself.

In *Sharru* (originally a Filani contest and apparently

a test of fitness for marriage) each of the contestants brought a switch of the tsamiya, and stripped himself to the waist. One then beat the other, and, after a certain number of blows, the other had the right to retaliate either then or at some other time. The idea of fighting thus appears in many of the tales, the one who takes punishment first managing to give more than he has had.¹¹ By the procedure described above a youth could obtain a medicine for this contest also.

Dambe is a kind of boxing in which the feet are used as well as the hands. Either foot will do, but punches may be delivered with one hand only, and this is bound up. The charm for victory in this was obtained in something the same way as was that for success in the Koraiya contests, but, instead of going to cross-roads, the youth proceeded to a new grave, dug a hole in it, and then lay down, and put his arm down the hole until he could touch the corpse. Soon a headless man would come up, but if the youth showed no signs of fear, he would pass, and was succeeded by a headless hyena, a headless leopard, and other animals—or rather bori. Then would come a spirit with clothes of gold, mounted upon a horse with golden caparisons, and holding his sword as if about to cut down the youth, whom he would seize and ask what he wanted. On the candidate telling him, he would say: "A bori is behind me who will give it you," and then he would gallop off. Last of all would come a bori "with one eye as large as the moon and glowing like fire, and with only one testicle, only half a body," and the youth would seize him and demand the charm. The same questions would be asked as to the kind required, and when the youth had made his choice, the one-eyed bori would say: "Go, you will have it, but as you are returning, you will meet a

woman at dawn, do not speak to her. You will also meet a man, do not speak to him. Do not utter a word until you are inside your own hut." Next morning the youth would visit the mallam or boka, as in the case of the *Mai-Koraiya*, and, if necessary, similar restrictions would be put upon him.

Wrestling (*kukuwa*) is a religious rite in some cases, as has been explained already, but amongst the Mohammedan Hausas it is now regarded as being merely an exercise. A wrestler naturally wishes to excel even now, but in former times it was extremely important to be good, and there were two ways open to him. He could go to a Ba-Maguje, who would give him tiny pieces of the roots of the *gamji*, *taru*, and *tsamiya*, and bark of the *hankufa*, sewn up in little square leather cases (like the *laiyas*) and fastened together so as to form armlets. These were no good unless prepared by a Maguje, because only he knew the right proportions, but there was no limit to the number which might be bought by the wrestler, and naturally the more he had, the more afraid his opponent would be of him. In addition, a waistband might be prepared of string treated with preparations of the above-mentioned roots.¹² But a much better charm could be had from a mallam and a boka combined. The latter would give the youth the ink which he had washed off a written charm, and this was drunk for seven days to make him equal to the tests to follow. Then he would be sent at midnight to cross-roads, and soon the dwarf Gajere Mai-Dowa would come along. The youth would seize him and demand a charm, but the dwarf would tell him to go to a certain boka for it, and they would separate. Next day the youth would go to the boka, who would give him more medicine to drink for another seven days, and on the eighth he would be sent to

an ant-hill, where he would have to wash his body, doing the same for six days more. On the night of the seventh day of such washing he would again meet the dwarf, and then the latter would give him a pill to put under his tongue just before a bout was going to commence. The candidate would return to the boka, who would tell him that he must sacrifice to Uwar-Dowa (? Uwal-Gwona) in future, and he would take the youth to a tsamiya tree, and order him to sweep the ground around its base for seven days. On the last day, the boka would go with him again, and they would sacrifice a red cock and a white hen, and the boka would present the youth to the bori in the tree. After that, whenever he wrestled, a red cock would crow from his head, and a white or other coloured hen would appear close to his feet, and his opponents would be so much afraid that they would be overcome at once. Directly he had finished his bout, he would wave his hand, and the cock and hen would disappear. Haj Ali had himself seen a hen and chickens appear at a wrestler's feet, though he did not see the cock. He had no doubt that it was there, however, and the opponent must have seen it, for he was conquered immediately afterwards.

If two youths, both of whom had been through the tests above mentioned, were to meet in a bout, neither would be able to beat the other, and they would struggle and struggle until one of the judges separated them and pronounced them to be equal. No one who had been successful in the tests, and had paid proper attention to Uwar-Dowa could be beaten. A useful tip for our athletes at the forthcoming Olympic Games !

CHAPTER XVI

SUPERSTITIONS AND OMENS

MORE or less connected with magic are certain superstitions which must now be considered, though no long account of nature myths will be necessary, for these have been treated already in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*,¹ and really belong to the realm of folk-lore.

The earth is said to be a female, though it is doubtful if the crops are supposed to be her offspring, or if the sun is the husband. Prayers are offered to it, but not sacrifices. The earth is supported upon one of the horns of the *Sa-Na-Duniya* (Bull of the World), and when he gets tired of holding it on one, he tosses it on to the other, and it is this which makes the earth quake. It is flat like a plate, being divided in two by a wall, and it meets the sky, but just where only Allah knows.²

Many mountains are held to be sacred and have the reputation of being inhabited by bori who will kill the person who ascends them. The Dutsin Wase in the Muri province is one which I have seen; another is in the Tangale country, the reputation of the latter having been greatly increased since an European was killed there a few years ago. I have not seen a volcano in Nigeria, but it is said of one mountain north of the Kagoro district, that cattle come out at night and wander about, and that a black bull was sacrificed to it by the chief of Zaria when fighting the Kagoro.³

In many places in North Africa there are heaps of stones

to which each passer-by adds a similar article, the piles being usually by the tomb of a marabout. In Nigeria, where a sacred place exists, it is pointed out by some learned mallam. The reason for adding to the pile is to make certain that the journey on which you are going shall be successful, for "by depositing something, the holy man will remember and help you in whatever you are going to do, while by passing by without paying any attention, he will become angry and thwart you."

I have not noticed any large piles of stones thus formed in the parts of Nigeria which I have visited, but Haj Ali and Auta assure me that they do, or did, exist. Certainly offerings of other kinds are made to sacred rocks in West Africa.⁴ It is quite likely, for in North Africa these *karkur* are often raised at a spot where a person has died a violent death, since "the blood cries out for vengeance,"⁵ and must be appeased permanently by payment from the slayer, or temporarily by a periodical addition of stones, both by the relatives of the victim and also by those of the guilty person—or else it must be imprisoned in the ground by means of a new nail. As has been seen, the Hausas regard the ghost of a man who has been killed in battle or murdered as particularly dangerous, so throwing stones in this manner would be quite in accordance with their beliefs. I have been told by a fellow-official that there is a series of tumuli running along certain rivers in the north-west of Nigeria, which measure some forty feet in height and in width. These were tombs, built in all probability by Berber conquerors, and Doutté wonders if there is any connexion between tumuli and piles of stones.⁶ Small heaps sometimes mark a boundary, but whether originally built for this purpose or because of the death of a person is uncertain, for, in a

country where each tribe is fighting its neighbour, no one can travel in safety outside his own country, so the boundary lines and the scenes of many deaths become practically identical. In North Africa, piles of stones grow at the spot where two roads diverge, these being due perhaps to the natural hesitation of a traveller strange to the country who has to choose his route, and wishes for guidance, for is it not certain that some spirit must live there which will show him the right way if appeased, or the wrong one if ignored? A European, who, travelling in West Africa for the first time, finds himself alone in thick forest or in an unfriendly district, can easily understand this view. The belief that the point where roads cross is dangerous is well known; even our ancestors considered that such a place was almost as tabu as consecrated ground.

Rags are sometimes used in a somewhat similar manner to the stones in some parts, though they are not necessarily added to by every traveller, thus those shown tied to the tree in Ill. 26 are placed there only by women desiring children. Cloths are wrapped around trees which the person wishes to fell, as has been mentioned already (p. 194), and also by the Masu-Bori at certain times, in the first place to ask the spirits' permission to cut, in other to attract their attention to the initiate. In several parts of West Africa trees are sacred and rags are tied to them.⁷

Springs, rivers, and lakes are inhabited by spirits, and sacrifices are offered to them by the *Sarikin Ruwa* (Chief of the Water) for all passengers on a ferry, by the passengers themselves when going on a long journey, and by the owner of a canoe before launching it.

The stars are now the children of Allah, but they were

once human beings. One day, long ago, some Magazawa boys began to throw stones at an old woman, the World, who was sweeping the ground in front of her hut, and she was naturally much annoyed by this. So she gave them her calabash of rubbish to empty, and immediately after they had taken hold of it they began to rise in the air, and at last they reached the sky. When they had arrived there, Allah told them to remain, so they have been there ever since. Another version is to the effect that the stars were always stars, but were once quite near the earth, being moved up above by the old woman because the boys were throwing stones at them—not at her. When stars fall, it shows that they are fighting amongst themselves, and that some are running away and are being killed. They foretell battles upon earth because, by a kind of sympathetic magic, they thus induce warfare amongst human beings. Another theory of shooting stars is that they are being thrown by angels, at demons which have been trying to pry into the secrets of paradise, and to tempt the inhabitants. This is the Koranic version, of course.⁸

In the summer, the sun travels by a long path, and that is why he is so long in the heavens, but in winter he takes a shorter route, and of course gets over his journey more quickly. He goes round the horizon at night to return to the east. No sacrifices are made to the sun nor to the moon, but time is reckoned by the latter. "There are twelve months in the year, and the time of harvest." This seemed to me like thirteen months, but Haj Ali said no, six moons (practically the rainy season) were for agriculture, six not, and the rest of the time was for the harvesting and feasting. The Mohammedan Hausas have the sundial, and use the Moslem almanac, but the

Ba-Maguje simply tell the time by the position of the sun. In Tunis, Arab time is half-an-hour later than the French. The Mohammedan year being unsuitable for agricultural purposes, the Hausas have to reckon their seasons by the sun, and where Europeans have conquered, the Gregorian calendar must be taken notice of, but in North Africa the Arabs and Hausas use the Julian calendar for themselves, which is thirteen days after our own.

Sometimes an old woman can manage to make a charm by which she sits upon a stool and can reach the sun. She squeezes it (that is the eclipse), and extracts a medicine from it by which she can make other charms. One of these is given to a woman whose rival wife (*kishiya*) has given the husband a drink and made him turn against her (the wife seeking revenge) after having preferred her to the *kishiya*. By means of the charm made from the sun's juice the wife will be able to send the *kishiya* mad if she is able to sprinkle some of it upon the floor of her hut, or can get someone else to do so. It is also a boon to a wife who has become unable to bear children. The moon can be milked in the same manner, and for a similar purpose.

The moon will give people cold heads if exposed to its rays, the cure for which is a bandage and certain lotions. The moon is supposed to die when it disappears, but no means are taken to bring it to life again, for it is well known that it will reappear in a few days. When there is an eclipse, however, drums are taken, and the sun is asked to spare the moon, for the sun has seized it for coming upon its path. This story and another are given in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs* (pp. 116, 117), but whereas this one is true science, the account of the moon dropping the sun's daughter is mere fable, according to

Haj Ali. The beating of the drums is due to North African influence, no doubt, for the same rites were performed by the followers of Hecate who has been equated with Artemis.⁹

The rainbow arises from a well of salt, and enters an ant-hill. It drinks up the rain, thus preventing any more from falling. The mirage is a device of the bori to capture travellers, and the person who is deceived by it is lost, for he gradually goes mad, and the bori drink his blood. The wind is a bori; in fact the name Iska is used for both. The rain is Allah's spittle or water.

The thunder is not caused by a bori, it is a meteorite let fall by Allah. If you see where it has fallen, pour some fresh milk into the hole, and you will come upon it, in shape like an iron bar. If this be melted and forged with iron into a sword, whatever you touch with it will drop dead. Abd Allah thought that the sword of Sidi Ali, with which he killed Ghul (see p. 245), was made in this way. Hausas who do not mind swearing falsely upon the Koran will hesitate to do so when they have called upon Aradu (Thunder), for, when the next storm comes, either a meteorite, lightning, or the rain will find them out and kill them. Haj Ali knows of a case where, during a thunder-storm, a man who was in a café sitting amidst friends suddenly dropped dead though no one else was injured, and it was discovered later on that he had sworn by the thunder and had lied. In North Africa there is divination by thunder.

When a Hausa commences some undertaking, he will choose a lucky day if he can afford to do so. This can be indicated by a mallam or a diviner, for it depends upon the stars, perhaps, or something equally important, but certain days are inherently unlucky for stated acts. On Sunday

the world was formed,¹⁰ and also the seven members of the body (hands, feet, knees, and head), so one must not shave the head nor wash clothes, at least not in Nigeria, for should a woman do the former her husband will die. But these prohibitions are not observed in North Africa, although there would be no great delay, because Monday, fortunately, is a good day, and almost everything done then will be lucky, especially as regards travel and business, since Moses went up to Sinai then. On Tuesday it is quite safe to shave, but not to wash clothes in Nigeria, for they would be stolen, lost, or burnt if the rule were ignored. Eve is said to have had her first courses upon this day. A man who shaves on a Wednesday will soon be put to death by his chief, and a woman who washes clothes then has not much longer to live, for was not Pharaoh drowned upon such a day? Sheep's wool must not be worked in North Africa on a Thursday, nor must one shave, but clothes may be washed without danger, for Mohammed returned to Mecca then. In Nigeria, it is dangerous to shave on a Friday night, although washing clothes brings long life, but in North Africa it is the worst day of all for washing, and sheep's wool must not be touched. It is the day of all days for marrying, since Adam and Eve came together on a Friday. It is lucky to cut the nails on this day, but not to commence a journey except at night, for the rivers are full, and spirits are about. These spirits are said to be angels, not jinns, but they do not care to be interfered with by the presence of human beings. In North Africa, he who shaves on a Saturday will not die in debt—a chance for our working men—but a woman who combs her hair then will speedily die or be divorced. Clothes may not be washed in Nigeria then, for the act causes early death or divorce, and generally, it is a day when

people must be careful of being imposed upon. The evil reputation of Saturday may be a survival from the time when it was sacred to Hammon, it being considered unlucky and illegal to work then.

The interpretation of dreams has been mentioned in Chapter X. A person may save himself much trouble by a proper study of omens also, and yet it is a mistake to be guided by them absolutely, for everyone makes his own rules to some extent.¹¹ In a general sense, however, everything white is good, while black is bad, males are usually more fortunate than females, and certain races (Jews) and animals (hogs) are likely to foreshadow misfortune. But a man will often disregard the general rules if he finds that there has been any notable exception in his own individual case. Thus, to meet a person with milk is usually a good omen because it is white, and a crow is a bad one, but at the same time if a man had been unfortunate after meeting the first, and had been lucky after the second, he would no longer believe in the above. He might be influenced also by the experiences of a friend, though, of course, some people are never lucky, and one must take care not to be led astray by such ; in fact, the best thing to do with a Jonah is to throw him over.

A perfect male of the same race—particularly if he be a *sheri*, a descendant of the Prophet—is a very fortunate omen, though a dwarf also is lucky ; a leper is a very bad one. A Jew does not matter much to a Hausa, although anyone who has become impregnated with the likes and dislikes of his former master would regard him as an evil omen, and a blacksmith is said to be lucky—perhaps this has something to do with the great reputation of the Hausa blacksmith in his own country.

The female influence is usually unlucky, but here is a

notable exception. Haj Ali's *vis-à-vis*, an Arab named Ali, used to work for a French butcher, but one day he became mixed up in a fight, and was dismissed. Ali's relatives besought the master to take him back, and much money was spent in buying written charms from the mallams for the purpose. But, alas ! all was useless, and, except for an odd day's job now and then, he had had no work for four months when Haj Ali and his wife, Khadejia, came to live in the room which they had hired. Next morning, Khadejia, seeing Ali in the compound after all the other men had gone off, asked him had he no work to go to as he had not left the house, and Ali told her what had happened. She said : " You go out now and you will find work," and sure enough, he was taken on by the first person to whom he applied. But something much more remarkable than that followed, for the very next day the former master sent for him, and took him back in his old employment ! Since that day Ali will never leave the house until he has seen Khadejia's face, and if she is not out of doors before he leaves, he will knock her up so that he can see her through her doorway.

This, however, is an exceptional case, the Hausa usually agreeing with enlightened Englishmen (according to *The Dundee Advertiser* of 20th October 1913) that " women, like rabbits, are of ill-omen to the miner. In many places, particularly in Wales, if a pitman meets or sees a woman on his way to work he will turn back ; for such an encounter is held to forebode evil not only to the man himself, but all his associates. At Owestry, some years ago, a woman was employed as messenger by one of the collieries, and in the course of her duties met many of the colliers on their way to work. The men immediately told the manager that they could not run the risk of ill-luck entailed

in meeting a woman on the way to the pit, and threatened to strike if she were not dismissed."

A dog lying by the fire is said by Doutté to presage rain—and one wants to have some idea of the weather if going on a journey. Haj Ali gives the more natural explanation—*i.e.* that it simply shows that the animal is cold, though, of course, this may include the former. "There is no charm against cold except clothes and a fire."

A hooting owl is unlucky, and so is a braying donkey because it is said to be calling Iblis. A donkey foal, however, is not unlucky, although it is nicknamed *Shaitan Karami* (Little Satan), because it is small, and young things generally are fortunate. A donkey has a bori, and a very dangerous one it is, for "if you step over the space where a donkey has rolled, the bori may cling to you. There is a boy in Tunis who has one, and now and then it drives off his own proper bori and seizes him; he becomes rigid, then falls down if not held up—meanwhile gnashing his teeth—and rolls about like a donkey; he had fallen into the fire a little while before. His hands are clenched tight, and must be wrenched open with a male key [one without a ward—which he carries about with him] when he will become all right again. There is no cure for this, as the bori will not agree to leave the boy." I saw this victim of the spirits, but not during one of his seizures unfortunately; his father was an Arab, his mother a woman of Kano. A dog's bori also may take possession of a person, and he will then bark if he hears drums being played, but only then, for it is the drums which arouse him. In fact, every animal has its bori, though not all of them take possession of human beings.

Birds, etc., in pairs are much more lucky than when in

an uneven number, for, in the first case, each has a mate, so all are contented. A large flock is better than a small one—apparently because the birds are then more likely to be occupied with each other, and will not want to bother about anything else, though this is not quite intelligible. A *kabare*, a crow, or any other black bird is a bad omen.

It is unlucky to meet a person with a squint or with eyes half closed, for the latter is probably a bori in disguise. All bori have their eyes only partly open, and they put their heads slightly back and rather on one side to look at a human being. Yet eyes which show too much white are "the eyes of Iblis," and this seems rather contradictory. Married eyebrows are lucky, at any rate in a woman (they are often painted so as to nearly meet, as has been seen in Fig. 6), and they are beautiful too. "If not, would not the owner pull them out?" She would!

CHAPTER XVII

PILGRIMAGES AND FESTIVALS

IN addition to the bori dances and the rites for rain, there are regular festivals and pilgrimages which must be observed if the community is to be prosperous. One has been described already, that of the Daffa Ble to the tomb of Al Khaderi in Tunis, but there is a much more important pilgrimage and festival, known as the Ziara, which must be performed annually. In Tripoli, the Hausas go to the tomb of Sidi Masari or of Sidi Makari, I was told ; in Tunis there are four marabouts who are thus honoured, the most popular being Sidi Sa'ad.

Men and women, Arabs and Hausas, go there together each year to offer sacrifices, and to make their requests. They go on a Wednesday morning, taking a sacrificial he-goat and some fowls for each party, together with candles and incense, and extra food. For the rest of that day they dance, at night sleeping in the rooms built there for the pilgrims, and the ceremonies continue for three more days. It would be a very serious thing to prevent anyone going there, as the following story, from Auta, will show. " Four years ago a Frenchman of Susa (Sousse) had an Arab female servant who asked for leave to go, which he refused. As he persisted in his refusal, the woman took her wages, left his service, and went off. One night afterwards, Sidi Sa'ad himself, armed with a big club, appeared by the side of the Frenchman, and told him that he (the latter) would have to perform the pilgrimage in the following year, and



19.—A goat ornamented for the annual ziara at Gafsa.

that if he did not do so, the saintly Sidi would break his neck. The Frenchman was so frightened, that he gave the required promise, so in due time he came with all his family in a ship, went to the tomb, took off his hat and his boots, knelt by the tomb, and said, 'I repent.' He then sacrificed the usual animals, gave food to many people, and returned home again after the conclusion of the ceremonies. He has come each time since."

The faith of the Hausa is not at all upset by a temporary disappointment, or rather one which he hopes is only temporary. "Should your request be unanswered you must perform the rite again; perhaps you are only being tried further, perhaps you did not do everything quite correctly. At any rate, say nothing against Sidi Sa'ad, for he will certainly punish you if you do."

The following account of the Ziara was given me by Haj Ali, with whom I went over the ground. It is an annual festival and pilgrimage in one, taking place after the harvest season, the shrine being the tomb of Sidi Sa'ad, some twelve miles south-east of Tunis. The story is that Sidi Sa'ad and three others (Sidi Al Khatab, Sidi Faraj, and Sidi Bu Sa'id) became so very full of magical power (zafi, not baraka) that the other less fortunate mallams grew jealous, and they determined to get rid of them. In those days (Haj Ali could not tell me the date), "If I were to steal your stick, and when accused of the theft I swore by Sidi Sa'ad (or one of the others) that I had not done so, the stick would immediately appear." The Bey, too, was afraid of them, and yet knew that he could not treat them in the same way in which he could dispose of the ordinary people to whom he objected, so he called all the mallams together and put them to a test. Some goats were placed secretly in a dark room, and a butcher having beer

stationed openly at the door, the mallams were invited to enter the room, being told that any one of them who did so would have his throat cut, but that a real mallam would have no fear of that. The ordinary mallams were extremely reticent—great men are always modest—and were not at all anxious to show what power they really possessed, so all refused to enter except the four mentioned above. Sidi Sa'ad entered first, and upon the threshold he was seized and thrown down to the ground in the sight of the assembled mallams, but he was dragged further into the dark room, where he was allowed to rise, and the throat of a goat was cut, the butcher then running out to the mallams, and exhibiting his bloody knife. The same thing happened to the other three, and then the four mallams, alive and well, were shown to their rivals.¹ But the Bey, pretending to have been deceived in the same way as was the general audience, declared that such men were too holy to live in the city, so he gave them each a district, Sidi Sa'ad going to the south-east, Sidi Bu Sa'id to the north-east, and the other two to the north-west and south-west respectively.² Sidi Sa'ad was a Beriberi slave, but it is not merely on account of that fact that the Hausas and others visit his shrine, for they go to the others also, each community or lodge pleasing itself. Preparations are made some time beforehand, a decorated he-goat being led around the streets while those who accompany it beg for alms with which preserved meat and fish will be bought, and flour is ground if necessary, for there will be no time for anything of this kind at the shrine. There will be enough for poor worshippers, all of whom will share equally with the richer members, the only thing which counts during the rites being rank in the bori community.³



20.—The shrine of Sidi Sa'ad.
21.—The courtyard of the shrine.

About nine o'clock on a Wednesday morning, the women start off in carriages with their stores, cooking-pots, etc., and the men, also driving, take their departure soon afterwards, but some seven boys with flags, and others with drums and iron clappers walk. Between seven and eight kilometres out, they cross a river, and, as it is the one which flows past the shrine, all cry out, and thank Allah for having brought them safely through another year.

Those in the carriages arrive at the destination first, naturally, and the time is so arranged that the women will have put the houses in order by the time that the men arrive. After a short time, all walk back along the road to meet the pedestrians, and then, falling in behind these, they march in, and walk around the tomb of the saint seven times. Then the flags are tied to a pillar, and all go out into the courtyard, where they eat their first meal, consisting of well-peppered fish, and bread. In the afternoon, they walk about and talk, drumming going on all the time, and, after the evening meal, the bori take possession of them until about midnight.

On the Thursday, they go about eight A.M. to a place a little higher up the river, and at once call up the spirits, Sarikin Rafi and the crocodile bori trying to throw themselves into the water, Jato and his friends running away into the fields, Ba-Toye and Gindema looking for trees, and others behaving as is expected of them. On their return, about noon, couscous is eaten, and then there are more dances and bori rites until sunset. After an hour or two's rest and another meal, the dancing and bori possession begin again, and last until dawn, with an interval near midnight for a meal.

On the Friday morning, about eight o'clock, all go to the sacred well, and stand around it. The Arifa then

approaches, and kneeling down on the brink, throws ground-nuts and sugar into the water, after which the drummers play the call for Mai-Ja-Chikki, and immediately the water is seen to stir.⁴ Then Sarikin Rafi takes possession of his mount, and the other Masu-Bori must be ready to shut him off from the well, otherwise he will throw himself into the water.

Next, all go to a stone shelter, some fifty yards in rear (see Ill. 26), where Sidi Sa'ad is said to have slept for some time, and, a white cloth having been spread over the mouth of the shelter, nearer to the tree upon which women wishing to become mothers tie rags, as has been said, the Arifa puts her head in, and censes it. Behind her is her Magajiya, and behind her again the Kasheka, and many of the people present (Arabs as well as Hausas) hand incense to the last named for her to pass it on to the Arifa. Many offerings of money and candles are also made, and those which remain are kept by the Arifa, after having been placed by her under the white cloth.

Soon Mai-Inna takes possession of the Arifa, and she comes out and dances, her place being taken by the Magajiya, and then individual bori start up all over the place. Ordinary dancing is indulged in at the mouth of the other shelter (*Ramin Zagait*), and here a collection is made from the onlookers.

Soon a move is made to a large *karub* tree close by, which Gindema and Ba-Toye immediately climb, and, after more dancing, each person breaks off a twig with a leaf or two, and puts it in his turban or in her hair, all then returning to their quarters at the shrine. The Hausas are not clear as to just what the significance of this is, but it reminds us that the belief that certain plants protect from evil influences is very ancient. Thus even in England



22.—The river in which Sarikin Rafi and other water spirits try to throw themselves.

23.—The tree (right in the centre) up which Ba-Toye, Gindema, and other spirits climb.

anyone wearing a laurel wreath was supposed to be in no danger from lightning.⁵

It is now time for the sacrifices, and the animals (which have been brought from Tunis) are offered up in the courtyard in front of the window of the room in which the coffin lies, the blood flowing into a hole below, after which the people, headed by flag-bearers and drummers, walk around the tomb seven times. Then the big meal is eaten, and there are dancing and bori possession until sunset. After a couple of hours' rest, during which time the evening meal is taken, dancing and bori recommence, and are continued until dawn.

On the Saturday morning, about eight o'clock, the carriages having arrived, all go outside, and stand by the café in rear of the shrine, and the Arifa, burning incense, takes up a position in the centre of the flag-bearers, who march around her while the onlookers throw her offerings. Then the people shout, and all is ready for the return. The Arifa and her attendants go first, then the other women with their cooking-pots, etc., followed by the men in order of importance, and, lastly, the flag-bearers and musicians take their departure, walking as before. After the loads have been deposited and the carriages dismissed, the people go back on foot along the road until underneath the shrine of Sidi Bu'l Hassan, where they wait for the pedestrians, and upon their arrival, all enter the Arab cemetery, walk seven times around a shrine there near the gate, and then halt while the *Al Fatiha* is read by one of the important men. The procession then marches to the Gidan Jama'a, the bori beginning to take possession just above the little suk, and the rites are kept up until about two o'clock. Then there is a final meal, *Al Fatiha* is read once more, and all go to their own homes.

On the following Wednesday, some other house will perform the Ziara, either there or at another shrine, and, in the succeeding weeks, the remaining houses will do likewise until all which go there have been. The order is always the same, for the community of the Gidan Kuri initiated the practice, so it always has the right to go first—in fact, it must do so. The rites of the various houses are similar in the main, though there are some slight differences, one house going to the well on Thursday as well as Friday, and so on. Only one modification is worth noting, and that is the practice of the members of the Gidan Belik and the Gidan Aska (who go on the same day to Sidi Sa'ad and to Sidi Faraj respectively) to meet before leaving Tunis, the Arifa of each community handing a red cock to the other to be sacrificed with the offerings of the community performing the pilgrimage.

So much appears in this book about the proper offerings to particular spirits, that perhaps a word upon the Hausa idea of sacrifice will not be out of place. The Arabic word *chart* means both “to stipulate” and “to make an incision,”⁶ this being supposed by some to be connected with the fact that “blood-brotherhood” existed amongst the ancient Arabs. The Hausa word *sare* (or *sara* or *sari*) means “to salute” and “to cut,” and at first sight there might seem to be some similarity, but unfortunately for such an idea, *sare* is used only for the military salutes taught by Europeans, corresponding exactly to the direction in our drill-books to “*cut away* the hand smartly.” It is just possible, however, that it is connected with a similar word meaning “to tell,” “to inform against,” for there is no doubt that when the blood is made to flow, the spirits assemble and listen to what is said by the worshipper—who in practically all private séances has a complaint



24.—The entrance to the Grove between the well and the shelters.

25.—The well in which spirits are seen to move about after incense has been offered.

to make. Still, here again, one must be careful not to be led astray by similarities, for sacrifices were offered to some of the bori long before the introduction of Islam, and, in any case, the word for "sacrifice" and for "to sacrifice" is *yanka*. This, however, may not be any argument to the contrary, for the word used for "to kill," except when implying "to cut the throat," is *kasshe*. I must content myself by saying that by means of the blood, the Hausa enters into communication with the spirits, and apparently even with the marabout when the beast or bird is put to death in his sanctuary, as is the case as regards that of Sidi Sa'ad, the sacrifices by his window being evidently not to the bori, for the spirits have previously been summoned. With the Arabs, the offering is probably merely a gift or *sadaka*, comparable with the offerings of the bread and water upon the tombs of members of the family, but therê is little doubt that it is a sacrifice according to Hausa ideas.

The worshippers must prepare themselves for the ceremonies. The bori mounts must be continent for at least three days before the performances, and it will be noted that, at the annual Ziara just described, the sacrifice is not offered until the people have sufficiently purified themselves by their previous exercises to be safe from the holiness let loose around them as it were, any inadvertence or fault committed at this time being at least as dangerous as would be the case during a purely bori performance.

The sacrificial he-goat of the Hausas is always black in North Africa, either because it resembles the night—and so the bori—or, in the case of the rites for rain, because it is of the same colour as the rain-clouds which the worshippers desire to attract. But, whereas the Arabs prefer black fowls, it will be seen that the Hausas place

much more reliance upon a red cock and a white hen, and, although the cock is a worthy offering at the Ziara, it is rather strange that he should be sacrificed to a bori, for, being the harbinger of the dawn, he is regarded as chasing away the evil spirits of the night. This supports the statement made later that the bori are not regarded as being wholly bad beings, in spite of the harm which they cause. Again, in Nigeria, the sacrifice is sometimes a white ram (*e.g.* to Mallam Tsafo) or a white ewe (to Uwal-Gwona), and even the goat may not be black, for Kuri prefers a red he-goat, Uwar-Dowa a she-goat of the same colour, and Ibrahim has a white-bellied kid. The he-goat to be sacrificed at the Ziara is, as has been seen, chosen some time beforehand, though this seems now to be more with the idea of obtaining contributions than to purify it in any way. M. Doutté suggests that the he-goat was chosen because of his incessant ardours,⁷ being therefore a symbol of fertility, for even the act of generation is regarded almost as a sacred rite—hence the respect, or at least toleration, for a prostitute. If so, the choice of fowls could also be accounted for, and this reason might be considered to hold good for the selection of a ram too, but in West Africa, at any rate, the true explanation would seem to be the more simple one that these offerings are much cheaper and more easily obtainable, for in the most important cases a bull is required, and he cannot be considered as being more prolific than a he-goat or a cock. In fact this question is not considered—not nowadays, at any rate—the choice of the victim sometimes depending upon a dream, as has been seen. All of these animals were imported from the East, and it would be convenience rather than religious enthusiasm which would account for the fact that sacrifices of fowls and goats are more

numerous than those of cattle. Surely much the same reason caused Jacob to substitute goats for gazelles? On special occasions, a bull would be provided to please the god or spirit, and also, possibly, for the good of his health, since the bull is so much more powerful than the ram or he-goat—though not more cunning than the cock, perhaps. Still, we can sympathise with the view of the Hausas, for no one would expect our fighting forces to become giants upon a diet of mutton and kid—still less upon one of vegetables only—any more than he could imagine the heroes of Trafalgar and Waterloo to have been teetotallers.

The mention of Jacob reminds us that at the Ziara, instead of the worshipper being dressed in the skin of the victim, a contrary process takes place, for the goat is arrayed in women's clothes, scarves, and ornaments, this apparently being a curious survival of a rite to express the kinship between man and beast, for we find that a goat dressed up as a maiden was offered to Artemis Munychia.⁸

There is one other point. It was not considered safe to wear the same clothes during religious rites as at other times, or at least, there was some special preparation, for the tabu arising from the holiness would make them dangerous. Special clothes would be kept for religious festivals, therefore, and so holy dress and gala dress were the same—and indeed, the name "Sunday best" still survives with us. Again, religion is conservative, and we see vestments used during religious services which have gone out of use for everyday life. So the Hausas of North Africa when they perform their bori rites, whether when on the Ziara or at other times, substitute Hausa cloths for part of their Arabic clothing—though what they do wear of the latter is the best which they possess, of course, and not being able to wash their shoes or clogs, they put them

from off their feet when they are about to tread on holy ground.

The rites at the shrine of Sidi Sa'ad are worth dwelling upon because within a circumscribed area we find river-worship, well-worship, two kinds of tree-worship, and the cults of the saint and of the bori. Possibly there is even a seventh kind—namely, the survival of stone worship. In England, where three consecutive fine days constitute a "drought," the feeling towards water can hardly be understood, but in a country which depends so much upon its water supply as does North Africa, it is not surprising to find that all rivers are sacred, and this is possibly an old Libyan belief. It is not necessarily Semitic, though the Israelites regarded rivers as sacred (*e.g.* the Jordan), and the Carthaginians had a similar idea—probably because the stream was thought to be alive, the life-blood of the god being diffused through the waters.

Wells too were sacred in very ancient times, the holiness of even Zemzem being pre-Islamic. Gifts were often cast into them—a survival of which may be seen in the custom of throwing in pins, and wishing. The belief was that the sacred waters were instinct with divine life and energy. The living power in the water was often supposed to be a serpent, really a jinn, as in the case of the well at Sidi Sa'ad. In the legend of Daura, Auta kills the god of the well, and this probably means that that particular kind of worship was abolished.

A sacred well is very often found close beside a sacred tree, and this is not surprising, for in most parts of Africa vegetation can flourish only where there is underground water, and sometimes the god of the well was also god of the tree. This appears not to be the case here now, however, as no rites are performed to the tree by the



well during the Ziara—at least so it is said—the prayers being connected only with the stone shelters, and the tying of the rags having nothing to do with the well. Still, it is not difficult to conceive that originally there must have been some connexion. The dances at the karub tree are quite distinct, this species of tree being particularly demoniac, the reddish hue of the wood suggesting blood.

The bori dancing and the rites at the shrine proper need not be further commented upon, but the question of the stone worship is a difficult one. The cairns, or rather shelters, are certainly sacred, and their character does not seem to be derived from the water close by, nor is it due to the shape, for there are no pillars of any kind. Yet the censuring may be equivalent to anointing them with oil or with blood. The explanation that they are places where Sidi Sa'ad slept seems quite inadequate, for the river—and probably the well also—existed long before the shrine was built, and the karub and the other tree are really quite independent of it, so some stone or stones may have been worshipped there from early times. The oldest Phœnician temples were natural or artificial grottos, however, and all branches of the Semites believed in chthonic demons, so it is much more likely that not the stones themselves but the bori in the caves were worshipped originally.

The Baban Salla or Great Prayer (and feast) is held in both North and West Africa upon the tenth day of Dulkejia, and certain preparations are necessary for it, not only in order to obtain the full benefit of the rites, but also so as to avoid the dangers with which these ceremonies are attended.

The first requisite is personal cleanliness, so all males have their heads shaved, and then go to one of the numerous

hot ("Turkish") baths in the city which are open night and day for some time beforehand. But the cleansing applies only to the body, apparently, and not to the mind, for "when you go in, you must give the caretaker your clothes, and these he rolls up and puts in a particular place, otherwise some other bather will steal them." Still, after

all, physical cleanliness had no connexion with godliness—or rather, ritual purity—until the use of water had established them both upon common ground.

On the *Ran Salla* (day of the prayer) those who can afford clean clothes, or better still, new ones, don them, having previously censed⁹ and scented them over a wooden frame in shape something like a round beehive (Fig. 13). *Lelle* (henna) is daubed upon people and certain animals—but not upon



FIG. 13.—A Frame over which Clothes are hung, a Pot of Incense being placed inside

the houses, I believe, although this is the case in Morocco¹⁰—the stain being applied and protected by rags which are left upon the skin for some hours. There is no doubt that this practice was originally introduced as a preventive against evil influences, but the Hausas do not recognise this. Haj Ali says that the bori have no connexion whatever with henna; the bori sacrificial animal is not stained, and there is no rule either for or

against its use by the Masu-Bori. But "the people of old used to do it instead of crying when there was a death in the house," he says, and this seems to point to an idea of protection in its use. The women at the Salla even stain their hair, this being "to protect them against the heat of the sun, which will make them ill otherwise." Certain domestic animals are also stained; horses, donkeys, and cattle have spots on their foreheads and noses, and upon all four fetlocks, while sometimes there is an imprint of a hand upon the rump. Dogs and cats also may receive similar attentions.

Upon the *Jajiberi*, or eve of the Salla, the men and women put antimony upon their eyelashes, and the women stain their teeth with walnut or *swak*. It is supposed that "the antimony drives out sickness from the eyes to the corners during the night, and so it can be wiped off in the morning." Antimony is often used, therefore, especially by men when tamping the ground, for it is said to bring out all the dust which has got inside—a very material evil influence! There is no doubt, however, that there is a deeper signification than this, for when a ram is to be sacrificed, an animal which is *mai-kwulli* (with black rings around the eyes) is much preferred. The reason of the use of *swak* does not seem to be known now, but it is said to be confined to women and to such men as behave as if they were such.

Some fast upon the *jajiberi*, though it is not necessary to do so, but if a meat soup is drunk "it should not be too hot, otherwise the throat will be dry next day." Almsgiving is enjoined, the latter being easy of fulfilment since children march in procession through the streets, and beg. They also visit houses asking for corn, the leader singing "*En shiga, en shiga, ko en koma?*" (Shall I enter, shall I

enter, or shall I return?). The proper reply to this is "*Zomo mai-kunen kiringo da kasshi akan san barra*" (O Prick-Eared Hare, through a bone one gets service)—i.e. he who is rich enough to give away food will always have some people eager to do work for him in expectation of a return. The others clap hands in time, and may join in with the leader now and then. All the food thus collected is said to be eaten by the children themselves, nothing being saved for the sacrificial animal. On the first day of the Salla, figs, dates, bread, and money are given to children and to poor people, and this is said to please the souls of the deceased ancestors of the givers. As has been noticed elsewhere, a gift will sometimes avert an attack of illness.¹¹

The last but greatest mode of protection from evil influences is prayer, and, in the case of a private prayer, care must be taken that it is not polluted, so if a person passes you while praying, you must place a stone—or better, your stick—between yourself and him so that no influence from him reaches you. In Hausaland, many houses have little stoeps of sand, raised a couple of inches from the ground, the sand being confined by logs or stones which also give the necessary protection to the prayer. At the Salla, however, all go in procession to an open space, and perform the various necessary acts there.

After this comes the sacrifice, the best animal for which, as has been said above, is a rago mai-kwoli. The Hausas here cannot afford too much for one, but they will get the most perfect specimen possible, and for that reason, should it manage to escape, they will recapture and kill it; there will be no substitution. The ram is daubed with henna from the nose to the tail, and around the chest, and before it is killed it is censed, and fed—as is the bori goat—

with millet-flour, rice, coriander, honey, and milk. The animal is then placed so as to face the east, and the sacrificial knife having been censed, the animal is put to death in exactly the same manner as was the bori he-goat at the dance described in Chapter XX.

Some of the blood is collected at once in a pot, and, a little of the incense powder having been thrown in, the pot is put by. Next morning, if any *idon mutum* (eye of man—*i.e.* spots) are seen, the sacrifice will not be particularly fortunate, though it is said that, even so, no steps will be taken to avert any evil influence.

The entrails are stewed with salt, pepper, oil, and a couple of vegetables (*salg* and *badenus*), and small portions are eaten that night by some half-a-dozen of the chief persons present before the other people touch theirs—no part of the entrails is given to infants. At the following midnight, one half of the flesh is eaten, after having been cut up into small pieces, and boiled with a herb called *malokwiya*, salt, pepper, and oil, and coffee is drunk afterwards. A small portion of the meat may be sent to members of the family in other houses, and the remainder may be eaten at any time, or it may be dried, placed in oil, and preserved, being eaten with onions when required.

It is said to be lucky if the animal jumps after having had its throat cut, though the explanation is hardly satisfactory to a European—viz. that the knife had been so sharp, and the man so quick, that the animal had not felt the cut, and, on being released, had jumped up to run away. The real reason is more likely to be that the struggles of the animal are thought to indicate the ability of the householder to fight against his evil influences, and so, the longer the animal is in dying, the more lengthy will be the owner's life. But there is still another

explanation possible—namely, that the animal must suffer if it has absorbed the evil influences, so a quick and painless death would leave the worshippers still in danger.

The Arab landlords of Tunis may hang the gall-bladders of the sacrificed animals in their houses near the door, according to Haj Ali (though I did not notice any), but the Hausa tenants do not do so, though a little may be dried, pounded, and mixed with antimony for the eyes since it is said to be good for stickiness (? blight).

The right shoulder-blade or "prayer-board" may be used for divination, and formerly, boxers, wrestlers, and those who fought with the koraiya, would never eat either blade of any sacrificed animal, for if they did so, their own would be broken in their next bout. Here, at the present time, there is no such tabu apparently, but since there are no professional boxers, etc., it would be unnecessary.

The larynx, or a part of it, is a charm against coughing, while the jawbones are tied up against the doorway, and if they are heard to be rattling the husband must not go to work that day, otherwise his body will tremble. The skin may be used as a rug, or it may be sold; it is often cut into fine strips (by the Arabs) with which to make sieves for couscous.

The heart is examined, and a black one (*i.e.* one full of blood) will indicate the evil character of the seat of the affections of the owner, but here again, the very blackest seems to entail no special precautions.

To be a good Mohammedan, a man should be well off, apparently, for, although no one should work on the first day or two of the Salla, most of the poor Hausa ex-slaves have no option, and they go to work as usual if they can get it. Those who can play, however, do so; they can at any rate watch the Arabs, and in Nigeria horse-races are



27.—Bu Sadiya. The bogey which appears at masquerades.

held, one youth holding a scarf which others try to catch, or each one simply gallops up and down a set course.¹² In some parts, a tug of war is held on the Jajiberi, youths pulling against girls, and the rope is secretly cut by someone so that both teams fall down sooner or later. This at Marrakech symbolises the conflict between drought and the rainfall,¹³ but the Hausa seems to be ignorant of any special signification. There are also boxing, wrestling, and target practice, though all of these are said to be indulged in more from the joy of being alive than for the purpose of driving away evil influences. Haj Ali says that in Gobir, a Ba-Maguje who had drunk much medicine would stoop down at festivals, and invite any adult present to "put an arrow into your father's quiver" (*i.e.* into his own buttocks) for no one, however strong, could pierce him, except young uncircumcised boys, against whom the medicines were powerless.

Masquerades now take place, though these are mainly performed by Arabs, the only one in which the Hausas have any part being the Bu Sadiya, in which a man dresses up in a mask ornamented with birds' feathers (to represent the head of an eagle), puts vulture wings upon his shoulders and wears a coat of pieces of various skins—*e.g.* jackal, fox, hyena, and, if possible, leopard and lion (see Ill. 27). But this is not confined to the Salla; it may take place at any time, the main care at present seeming to be a collection from the onlookers. Some of the Arab performances resemble the dance of Jato at the bori.

In some parts, a combat between a warrior and a monster is represented, corresponding to our St George and the Dragon, perhaps also to Auta (the Hausa "Jack the Giant-Killer") and the bogey, Dodo, and to the killing of the Ghul by Sidi Ali, a favourite picture in Tunis, which

I hope to reproduce in a later book. This is a widespread African idea, and it will be remembered that in the third century, in the few spots in Egypt where the Greek soldiers were masters of the churches, Bishop George of Asia Minor was often represented on horseback slaying the great serpent of "Athanasian Error."¹⁴

Lastly, there will be the dance of takai on the first four evenings, and later on the *lela*, in which one person out of every group of four dances round the ring singly, and then returns, falls, and is caught by the other three. In Nigeria I saw it danced only by women, but here it is done by both sexes, or even by men only.¹⁵

At the Gidan Jama'a four men prepare the food for the midnight repast, and, about ten o'clock, another man (an adult, not necessarily a youth, as in the case of the meat) will suddenly seize the spoon, and dance around with it. Soon someone will rub a little of the meal off it, and daub it in the face of another member of the community, and then there is a general *mélée* which lasts until the food is ready, when all very wisely crown the pleasures of the day by demolishing everything which has been provided.

CHAPTER XVIII

BORI—THE SPIRITS AND THEIR POWERS

WE have seen that each person has a familiar bori of the same sex, and generally one also of the opposite sex, in constant attendance, and here and there mention has been made of other spirits, quite independent of human beings, and often working harm to them. They are ready for their human victim before his birth, and will be certain to get him in the end ; their ban cannot be avoided, for, to the Hausa mind, the world is full of these spirits also called *bori*, which word is really the singular, but the plural form, *boruruka*, is hardly ever used. Whereas the personal bori have but the one name, however, these independent spirits are sometimes called *aljannu* (sing. *aljan*, from the Arabic for jinn), *iblisai* (sing. *iblis*, devil), or *iskoki* (sing. *iska*, also a wind),¹ and the words are important, as to some extent they indicate the origin of the belief. These beings have some substance, for a charm for childbirth can be made from an aljan's head—though only a madman would think of trying to procure such a thing, as it would mean certain death. They are everywhere, and a man must be exceedingly careful in everything which he does, lest he offend or injure some bori or other. Many of them are not evil unless offended, however, and by worshipping certain powerful members of the spirit community, the Hausa can keep himself fairly secure, though even then any careless act, such as throwing away hot water or the embers of a fire, may bring him into

trouble, for the hot substance may fall upon a bori, and he or she will naturally be annoyed at being burnt. Everyone has his or her own familiar and sexual bori, as has been mentioned in Chapter X., but we must now proceed to inquire into these spirits which have no direct connexion with human beings.

They are of both sexes, and are divided roughly into those of the city and those of the forest, in a general way—and in a general way only—it may be said that the former are mostly introductions from the north, grafted on to the latter, which again are the result of the mixture of original cults in West Africa. But the question of their origin is a very difficult one, and it had better be reserved for a final chapter after we have had an opportunity of examining them, for after all, that is the logical sequence. Suffice it to say at this stage that the present cult is a combination of the worship of marabouts, ancestors, child-ghosts, representatives of other tribes, jinns, nature-gods (both imported and local), fetishes, and totems, the classification now adopted by the Hausas being shown in the arrangement of the later chapters.

Allah is above all, and to some extent they may be compared to the attendants around a Mohammedan chief, for although the name of Allah is used in vain and with great frequency, the Hausa considers that to approach Him with a direct request is to court failure, even when the wish is a good one, and that the surest method is to bribe His courtiers, the bori, who will put the prayer into the proper form—or do what is required themselves unless prevented. It is evident, therefore, that although the Hausa Moslem professes to worship The One God, yet the intermediate spirits receive nearly all of the real attention.

Many of the people are quite confused as to the identity

of some of the spirits, thus several told me that Kuri and Mai-Gizzo were one, others held that they were quite distinct, although brothers. Arni Baba and Ba-Maguje are held in Tunis to be the same, whereas in Tripoli they are danced together by different mounts, and so must be distinct. Possibly some of the spirits have several avatars, or it may be that, as in Egypt, new gods or spirits have been evolved out of old ones. The order of importance varies also, so I have tried to give the average view, but more than that, there may be several descriptions of the same bori. Of course the spirits can change themselves into anything they like,² so those which appear as headless beings, as snakes, etc., or to the candidates for the priesthood or for success in gladiatorial contests are not always in that condition. But that is not exactly the point, and the differences may



FIG. 14.—A Supernatural Being

be accounted for, I think, by the fact that the spirits have been confused in the effort to combine the cults. Most people agree, however, that the form is that of a human being with cloven feet, though some say at first "like the hoofs of a horse"—and yet open their fingers to show a cleft. One or two said that Fig. 14 was very much like a bori; it is really from an Arab picture of Ghul being slain by Sidi Ali, a very favourite subject in Tunis. The bird also (Fig. 15) is an evil spirit temporarily transformed, being half snake and half bird—nothing out of the ordinary in prehistoric times.³

Many people think that a spirit leaves a footprint on ashes like that of a cock, and, although the Hausas did not tell me so, I think that a similar belief explains the spur at each of Ghul's heels.

Uwal Yara or Nana Magajiya does not fit in with the foregoing. She is known to the Arabs as *Um Es Sibyan*, and corresponds to the Lilith of the Jews, whence our "Lullaby" (*Lilla abi*) to protect the child. In Tunis she



is said to have the body of a fowl with, however, a chest like that of a camel, and a human face. Some connect her with a bird which flies about at night calling *warh-warh-warh*, for if a child hears this it will die, so anyone seeing or hearing the bird should make the sound *tchlok-*

FIG. 15.—An Evil Bird *tchlok-tchlok* loudly until it has passed, that noise being effective against the evil influence. Others say that she takes the form of an owl, and one day in Tunis I met a party of boys with one of these birds which they had killed because "it had been injuring children." Among the Arabs of Palestine also, the Egyptian eagle-owl is said to be an enchanted woman who exercises baneful influences over childbirth, and the nomad woman and children reply to the screech-owl with mocking words, it being a bereaved mother.⁴ In Nigeria, however, the name is given to a large species of snake.

Great uncertainty exists, therefore, and although it may be said that all or nearly all of the bori are disease demons nowadays, one cannot give the exact functions and descriptions of many of them. But this is hardly surprising, for certain ancient peoples of higher intelligence

than the Hausas managed to get their gods into a tangle, the unravelling of which has defied learned men of every generation.⁵ Speaking generally, it may be said that the more important the bori, the more definite is the disease which he inflicts, but in many cases, the spirit's power is indicated by the number of illnesses which come from him, and, at any rate, the young bori can be responsible only for rashes of some kind or other and for sore eyes. I think that in a number of cases, the ignorance of the special powers of a particular bori is due to the absence of a proper mount, for in time the bori would tend to become forgotten. It must be noted that no Mai-Bori except one who had learned the actions would dare—or be allowed—to invite a bori to ride him, for any mistake in the ritual would bring the bori (not the mount) into contempt, and the dancer and the whole audience would be liable to his displeasure.

Amongst the Magazawa, Kuri was the chief bori next to Magiro, though the first place is now given to Dakaki in North Africa. With the Mohammedans Mallam Alhaji is the head, or in some parts Yerima, but with both the same spirits are of the highest rank. The bori have an organisation somewhat similar to that of the human beings, but the spirits whose names appear here do not now give in marriage, nor do they ever grow older, for although they do not die, they also do not increase, and the young bori (*Yayan Jidderi* or *Zanzanna*) never grow up. In the "Red Country" (*Jan Kassa*), however, the unnamed bori marry and give birth as with us. More than that, the bori of different districts fight against each other if the people are at war, and they also kill their spirit enemies in exactly the same way as a human wizard catches the soul of a fellow-mortal.

They are summoned to a gidan tsafi or to a sick person by incense, and perhaps also by drumming, to a dance (*rawan bori*) always by both, blood may be employed as well, and, when a dance is in progress, the spirits worshipped by any particular dancer are all anxious for their turn to take possession of him, "to ride" upon his head. But there is necessarily some decency here, for the inferior spirits would not think of jostling their superiors, and, in fact, when the former announce themselves in a hoarse voice through the mouths of their mounts, the greater ones retire temporarily and sit aside, not deigning to dance simultaneously. There need never be any doubt as to a spirit's identity, for most of them announce themselves in a kirari (very often a boastful description) immediately upon their arrival, and those who do not do so are named by the Arifa directly they have made some distinctive movement.

In the songs sung to the spirits certain resemblances can be seen to the Arabic incantations, and before going further it might be as well to state that just as "incantation" comes from *cantare*, and "charm" from *carmen*, it is quite probable that *waka* has the meaning of "incantation" as well as that of "song" since each bori is said to have his special song (*wakansa*) to summon him to the dance, and it is also not impossible that *magana* (a word) and *magani* (a medicine, a charm) were connected originally. Amongst the Arabs, the singing of the incantation has almost disappeared, in spite of its universally recognised power, but the Hausas even in North Africa still summon their bori by the aid of music, except at private séances, for just as disagreeable sounds can drive away the spirits, so can pleasant ones attract them. The form also is of consequence. In many songs it appears as if the bori is

being asked a question about himself, thus "Where is Jaruma?" But this is not so in reality, the interrogative form for summoning jinns being classical amongst the Arabs. Naturally, the bori is asked for something, so he is addressed directly by the musicians; sometimes he is supposed to be speaking, though he never really does so after he has once announced himself—except in private consultations—so Ma-Dambache (p. 324) would seem to be saying that he had ruined a camel. In a few cases, even the mount is noticed, thus in Sarikin Rafi's song, the doki begs to be let off lightly—but here again only the musicians speak. Even the audience may be addressed, babies, children, and adults being invited to look at the bogey, Ba-Toye. Sometimes an element of real poetry is introduced—though this is exceedingly rare—for in the song of Dan Manzo are the words: "The mouth of the world would eat a stone, much more a child of men." The rhythm too is often striking; compare, for instance, *Gajēre Mai-Dōwa*, *Gajēre*, *Ennā ka halbé shi Gajēre* with *Da Rīnna*, *da Rīnna*, *da Rīnna a Dōwa*, and with the songs of Jigo, Jato, and others given with the music a few pages further on.

There is a saying that "eloquence is a magic force," and even in England we can understand that since certain orators have led respectable citizens to perform acts which they would never have even thought of if not so moved. It has been pointed out that the Hausas believe that a person may be acted upon by another through knowing his name, and this belief is reproduced in the incantations, the repetition of the name or names of the bori causing them to do as asked, since they are "the servitors of their names." The repetition itself is powerful, hence the value of many prayers. As is only natural, many of the bori

are flattered in order to persuade them to do what is required—*e.g.* by attributing heroic acts to the youths (as in the call of Ismaila), or by pretending to Nana Mariyamu that her rash is a mark of beauty. But they are often abused and derided, this being perhaps a form of menace to them if they do not behave as desired, and corresponding to the threats common in Arab incantations.⁶

The meaning is often obscure, this being common in many countries, and in North Africa the difficulty of interpretation is intensified because here and there words and even lines have been substituted for those of the original incantations or songs which have been forgotten. Where necessary, and possible, I have supplied an explanation in square brackets, but in certain cases even the singers themselves did not understand the reference although quite sure that any omission or alteration by them might have an evil effect. At the same time, when the Arifa or other authority in the bori world happens to be of a people not Hausa, she or he, when possessed or when singing, may introduce a word or two of the mother tongue in momentary forgetfulness of the correct Hausa words, perhaps, and afterwards these words may become permanently substituted. Thus in Tunis, where the Arifa of the Gidan Kuri is from Bornu, some Kanuri words appear in the songs—*e.g.* that of Doguwa. But there is another reason for this confusion—namely, that a dancer speaking another language may prevail upon the community to accept one of his spirits on account of its similarity to one upon the authorised establishment, and words or even whole lines from the song in the strange language may be interchanged with those in the incantation of the Hausa spirit. Thus in the case of Ba-Toye (Ba-Maguje), Gindema (? Fulah), and Gwegwe

(Kanuri), it does not seem to matter much which song is sung. When the bori have thus been associated they are said to be brothers, or they may even be merged into one individual, and in the latter case an interesting result follows—namely, that the wives also may become identified although bearing different names, and although said to be of distinct origin. A state of confusion thus arises which is beyond the power of even the Arifas to reduce to order, and they seek safety in the simple expression *hakka* ("it is so"), and leave the inquirer still bewildered.

I intended at first to obtain the music as well as the words of each song, but I soon discovered that that would be impossible on account of the limitations of time. Again, our notation will not give the sounds exactly, nor can the time always be indicated, so whereas one might spend a whole afternoon in writing down a dozen airs, he would not do the work one quarter so well as if he had had a phonograph for half-an-hour. I had to content myself with the following songs, therefore, in the hope that at some future time I might be able to revisit the country, equipped with the proper instruments. These tunes are only approximate, and are given merely as a guide. They are recognisable only when played upon the violin, the singers do not necessarily follow the notes at all, they may merely give each song in a similar recitative voice, so the observer would distinguish them only if he knew the words. The *mai-gimbiri* (player on the guitar) merely vamps, so it is almost impossible to tell what air he thinks he is accompanying, but usually the beats upon the drum are distinct, although I doubt if one half of the Hausa audience can recognise them—much less a European.

as happens in the case of a soothsayer. But there are certain occasions when they must be consulted, such as when building a new house, or changing to another, or when commencing a farm, and their aid ought to be sought in cases of sickness. This refers to the more or less good spirits ; there are some which are always evil, whose black force is sought only when an enemy has become too powerful.

Great care must be taken to see that the sacrifice is the correct one, otherwise there will be no good result, and the boka makes many a little extra by examining fowls to ascertain if their markings are those required by the particular bori which is to be approached. In many cases when two fowls are to be offered, one is for the husband or wife of the bori whose aid is invoked, thus for Kuri and his wives Doguwa and Risana, a red cock and a white hen are sacrificed. Sometimes the children of a bori have the same offering as their parent—*e.g.* in the case of Mallam Ali Geshe.

It will have been noticed that certain bori have a predilection for particular colours, the tints of the clothes of their mounts and even the markings of their sacrificial fowls being laid down, and, in a few cases, so strongly have these been identified with the spirits concerned that they may be used as their symbols—thus white, in the story of Bawa, indicated a mallam, and a crippled fowl would almost certainly stand for Kuturu. The Hausa system does not seem to be quite consistent, however, for Kuri, Yerima, and the mallams and others have white cocks, whereas the colour of the clothes is different. This, however, seems to be due merely to the fact that a white cock is particularly efficacious. The rules are probably the survival of a very ancient system, for Assyrian tablets

show that a double cord of black and white threads spun together removed a tabu, while one composed of a variegated and a scarlet thread (treated with spittle, earth from an ant-hill, etc.) was a protection against ghosts. In India a patient is tied to an image of Hanuman by a cord formed of threads of three colours, and in the Malays a taper is placed "upon a silver dollar, with the end of a piece of parti-coloured thread inserted between the dollar and the foot of the taper," the other end being held by the patient. The Hebrews used a blue ribband in their fringes (Num. xv. 38), and the later Jews the ashes of two threads (treated medicinally, or rather magically) for bleeding at the nose. In Europe a cord of different coloured threads preserved the wearer against the evil eye, while I have personal knowledge of a lady suffering with a kidney complaint being signally benefited by the wearing of a green stone—she had pined from the very first for something green, and had no knowledge of the very ancient idea which attributed specific properties to jade or nephrite. Cart-horses are often decorated with bunches of coloured ribbons, while many have a half-moon on the forehead and a disc pivoted in a crescent frame, possibly the disc of Merodach of Babylon. Coming now to Africa, we find that the badge of Christianity in Ethiopia is a blue neck-band, though in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs* we saw that the word *shudi* (blue) was not much used, while with some clans light shades of that colour were tabu. Again, certain rings painted on the face averted the evil eye, and in Tunis during the cholera epidemic some extraordinary remedies were eagerly sought after by the populace, among others being bits of coloured ribbon to be pinned to the clothes of those afraid of infection. This is not surprising, for we also saw that the bori have special colours or objects

into which they will pass, and that in Morocco the Gnawa dress themselves and the patients in the colour peculiar to the jinn in possession (known by ascertaining the day of the week upon which the illness commenced) and exorcise it—even we speak of “blue devils.” But the same thing has been found in West Africa also. Is it too much to say that the origin of the present system of colours is to be found in the East? ⁷

An evil smell drives away the bori, as we have seen, but a sweet one attracts them, and each spirit has his special incense—or should have, if available. Scents, too, are used in profusion by the worshippers, and the “sacrifice of sweet savour” makes the spirits propitious by giving them a foretaste of the good things in store for them. As in the case of the soft laughter, we are faced by a contradiction, for these sweet scents are also a protection against the bori. The explanation seems to be that the spirits are human in this respect as in others, and that when attracted by sounds or acts which please them they will not be pre-disposed to do harm. Thus certain sweet herbs—or washes made from them—which were found to be efficacious against the diseases came to be used as charms, because the Hausas misunderstood their effect, and attributed it to the scent instead of to the medicinal properties of the plants.⁸

The chief abode of the bori is *Jan Gari* (Red City) or *Jan Garu* (Red Walls), which is stated to be in the Red Country (*Jan Kassa*) between Aghat and Asben. No living person has ever seen this city close, but “all travellers know of its whereabouts, and, should anyone enter it, he will never be heard of more.” One day Haj Ali, while going across the desert to Hausaland, halted for a few minutes and, on proceeding again, he saw four caravans

going in different directions. He did not know which was his, for all appeared to be alike, but he chose that which he thought was taking his own route, and started to follow. All at once, he heard the lowing of cattle, the beating of drums, and the sounds of a great city generally, and looking up he saw Jan Garu far ahead of him. As he knew it immediately, he hurriedly retraced his steps, and luckily he soon saw some of his own people who had been sent back to find him. "It is well known that the bori come at night and call people from a caravan by name, and if they answer and go, they will be lost, just as will stragglers be in the daytime. Often in the early morn, travellers will hear cocks crowing quite close, and sounds of a city awaking, but when they arise they will see nothing, and they will know that they have been sleeping near the city of the Aljannu."

All bori can move with lightning speed, or perhaps one should say like the wind, since one of their names is *iskoki*, so distance is no deterrent. It might happen that two persons summoned a particular spirit simultaneously, and then a choice would have to be made. Suppose, for instance, that one man in Nigeria and another in Egypt offered up incense at exactly the same moment, the bori would go first to him who had been the most regular in his sacrifices, but if both were of equal merit, it would come and go between them so quickly that the worshippers would not know. If these last two both desired the same object, of which there was only one in the world, the bori would create a duplicate and thus satisfy both worshippers. It has been seen in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*⁹ that certain very learned mallams can do the same thing, for there, when a man had promised his only daughter to three different suitors, two others were produced from a

bitch which he cut in two. This, however, is only another instance of the similarity of the powers possessed by the priest and the magician, the holy Moslem saint and the pagan medicine-man, for the bori would be invoked through a Mai-Bori unless the person himself were one.

In Nigeria, soothsaying amongst the Masu-Bori seems to have been dying out for some time, but it was once common. Richardson the explorer mentions it, and "whatever Giwa Azuza of Tripoli foretold always happened." Reference is made to divination in the songs of Baraje. Haj Ali was taken as a slave to Egypt, and one day while with his master, Ibrahima, at Sarowi, Nakada (also called Jato and Janzirri) took possession of him, and he foretold that on the third day his master would be summoned before the chief of the district, Tanta. On the departure of the bori, the listeners told Haj Ali what he had said, and asked him what he had meant, but he then remembered nothing of it, and simply told them that Nakada had mounted him, and that it must have been that spirit speaking through his mouth. A female Hausa slave who knew the wisdom of the bori, corroborated, and the people then became anxious, for clairvoyance is well known to the Arabs, and when on the third day the district head's messengers arrived, they were terrified. However, the master, instead of being disgraced as he had feared, was given a post under the Government, and so Haj Ali had great honour, was taken to Mecca, and later on received his freedom.

At the dances, worshippers may consult the bori while in the ring, but for obvious reasons oracles are usually asked for in private. Calling up spirits is, of course, a very ancient practice, and one which will never die out probably, for not even a saint is allowed to rest in peace. On

the contrary, the more holy a man is during life, the more certain is the aid of his spirit to be invoked after death, and just as the witch of Endor called up Samuel (1 Sam. xxviii. 7), so does the Hausa Mai-Bori invoke a mallam or other bori, and I have personal knowledge of a case in England of the summoning of a departed dignitary of the Church by his own daughter.

As has been said, hot water or embers of fire must never be thrown down carelessly, but, however cautious you are, you may injure one of the numerous bori. One boy (an Arab) named Salah, belonging to the family of the landlord of the informant Auta, went out one night two years ago, and paid a visit to the salanga. As it happened, some of Mai-Inna's children were playing down in it—some are always there, in fact—and he wetted them, though, of course, without knowing it. Immediately, Mai-Inna hit him on the offending member, and he screamed, and the people who rushed out and brought him into the house, found that the part was swollen. He could not pass water again, and was in great pain, so next morning the parents sent for Salah, the principal boka of Tunis. He told them what had happened, and gave the boy proper medicine and lotion, applying this night and morning for seven days, burning incense while performing the other rites, and after a week the boy was quite cured.

The manner in which the second Salah (there is no significance in the similarity of the names in this case) found which bori had done the mischief was as follows. He brought another man, whom he made squat opposite to him on the floor. The parents gave the boka a franc, which he put on the ground, and then he placed a pot upon it and lit the incense which it contained. He then placed his hands upon the ground, backs upwards, thumbs

together, fingers touching the pot, and the assistant began repeating the names of the bori spirits. On Mai-Inna being mentioned, Salah commenced to shout, and, after having been calmed, he (or rather the spirit in him) described what had happened, and the proper sacrifice and remedy. The diviner was in the same room as his patient, but did not touch him in any way.

The Yayan Jidderi or Zanzanna ("Children of Small Pox, or Little Spots") cause skin eruptions and sore eyes. If a person sees another whose appearance is somewhat out of the common he should not remark upon it, for he may be a bori, dreamy eyes being an almost certain indication. Adults seldom take any notice, but children are apt to be rude, and if the person is one of the Yayan Jidderi (which apparently can assume adult human form, though they will never grow up to the full bori's estate) the rude child will soon become ill—though his punishment may not follow as rapidly as did that of the children who ridiculed Elisha. Or again, someone may throw hot water on one of these or upon some other bori, and his eyes will become sore.¹⁰ If the cause is not apparent, a Mai-Bori is called in, as has been seen in the case of Salah, and he will say what has happened, and prescribe the appropriate remedy.

Haj Ali's method was slightly different from that of Salah. Asked to describe an actual case, he said that he went with another man, his assistant, at the beginning of the year to see a child thus afflicted, and fixed a day when they would return and divine. At the appointed hour they came, and Haj Ali, having wrapped a cloth tightly round his waist, and squatted down by the incense, began to rub his right hand round and round on the ground, fingers bent slightly downwards, and then to turn it over "so as to call the spirits out of the earth," and, apparently,

to mesmerise himself. Soon he began to breathe heavily, and suddenly he grunted and yelled, and it was evident that the bori had entered his head. Then the other man asked the bori who he was, and he replied "I am Kuri." Then the assistant said "O Father Kuri, So and So is ill, will you tell me in what he has offended?" Kuri replied "He threw hot water upon the Yayan Jidderi, and they have made his eyes sore." Then the other said "O Father Kuri, will you not cure him?" And Kuri asked "What will you give me if I cure him?" The assistant (having consulted the father) said "We will sacrifice a he-goat to you." Then Kuri touched his left shoulder (*i.e.* that of his horse, Haj Ali), his right shoulder, and then his forehead, and replied "Very well, he will recover." Apparently, Kuri then summoned the guilty bori (who had not responded to the summons of the incense), and arranged with him to forgive the child. Kuri then left Haj Ali, and he and the assistant went home, neither going near the patient until several days afterwards, when they were sent for. On arriving at the house they found the child much better, and then they said "You must now offer up the sacrifice which you promised." This was done, and the cure was complete.

The cloth is always worn thus, according to Haj Ali. We have seen the real reason, but his own should be noted. "If there are drummers present it is necessary because the Mai-Bori will dance, but even if not, he will try to knock himself about until besought by the assistant to be quiet and listen to his request." Before the Mai-Bori summons Kuri he is paid between two and five francs. On the child's recovery he gets more money, and perhaps cloths for Kuri, or whichever bori has responded, as well. He gets the liver of the animal sacrificed, and also a share

in the flesh. Each Mai-Bori specialises in certain spirits, and Haj Ali would always be ridden by Kuri or Ma-Dambache, or some other one whom he follows, just as Salah would obtain the aid of Mai-Aska, and Khameis that of Jam Maraki. Each mount professes two or more, and must undergo a training in the rites (actions and medicines) in order to be able to do so.

From the foregoing it will be evident that a bori does not necessarily kill a man at once, even if mortally offended, in fact it does this very seldom, usually it gradually sucks his life away. The drinking of the blood may be rather an Arab idea; the pagan seems to think that the bori slaps him. We have seen this in the case of Mai-Inna, and a similar notion is reported of other people in Nigeria.¹¹ Sometimes Mai-Inna pushes his victim's face to one side, thus making it swell. Should you be chased by one of these spirits say "*Āllah ba su ganin nisa*" (O God, let their attention be attracted far from me), and you will be safe for the time. Sometimes even calling out the name of iron will be sufficient—naturally so, for the name is a part of that substance just as a man's name is a part of himself. After that, you must go to a mallam to give you a charm, or to a Mai-Bori, who will find out which spirit it is that you have annoyed, and make your peace for you. If, however, the bori has already caught you, it is of no use asking Allah's help, and you will feel no relief at all until you have obtained the charm or the forgiveness referred to above.

There is no means of getting rid of the boruruka; they are everywhere, so nothing you could do would clear them out. The only hope that a person has is to try to annoy them as little as possible—for it is out of all question that he must fall foul of them sometimes, and yet there would

seem to be an idea in some cases that the victim must voluntarily place himself in their power, as has been seen in the case of the witch in Hausaland,¹² for he is lost near Jan Gari only if he responds. Some are inclined to be friendly, many will not bother about you so long as you do not offend them, but a few are always looking out for trouble. Those of the first class will reward you richly for the sacrifices offered to them; those of the second may or may not grant your requests, though, naturally, the more often you remember them, the more ready will they be to regard you with favour; but the third class must be propitiated if you have any reason to fear that you have attracted their attention. Above all, one must avoid ridicule and abuse, for if there is one thing which a bori will not stand it is contempt. So when the name of any spirit belittles the bearer, one must not mention it, but use another which one thinks he will like—we see a similar idea in “The Good People.” Thus Kuturu (the leper) is nearly always known as Sarikin Kofa (Keeper of the Gate) because he sits there, or as Uban Dowaki (Master of the Horse), intended as a compliment as if the worshipper were blind to his deformities, although the title seems to be a sarcastic one. But many of the songs are exceedingly impolite and contemptuous, many of them being obscene as well,¹³ so the statements about the deference due to a bori are difficult to reconcile. It seems that so long as the words are part of the recognised incantation, derision and even abuse will entail no evil consequences, or it may be that—as with us—offensive remarks made in a friendly way are really compliments! Still, no Hausa would dare to speak of a saint in similar terms.

Magiro is a very evil spirit, and since he always demands a human victim, no Hausa cares even to talk about him.

He is a very useful spirit to have on one's own side, though, if one has enemies, and he may be induced to take up his abode in a man's house by simply screening off a corner of a room with a white cloth and burning incense there. But the proper way—one that will bring any bori you like—is as follows. Dig a hole in the corner of the room, and screen it off with a white cloth. Throw a little incense into the hole (do not burn it) each night for forty nights, and then place therein a curved throwing-stick, a club, and a pot of beer, and cover the mouth of the hole with a black cloth. Then burn incense in the usual manner, and your spirits will be there. But it is important that only the man himself should be in the room during these operations; should even a child enter, the whole will be ruined. A person must sacrifice to Magiro, Uwar-Gwona, or Taiki annually if his *gadon gida* (inheritance of the house—*i.e.* worshipped by his ancestors), or, although not *gadon gida*, if the bori has been invoked specially at any time previously. Failure in this respect would mean certain death.

If a worshipper wants something very much, he approaches Magiro in the usual manner, promising a sacrifice of a he-goat or a bull according to his means, but Magiro may demand a human being and then "you tell him that if you get your wish he may have So-and-So. You will be successful, and you will see that So-and-So will gradually waste away, you will not have to do anything at all. Should you have promised a bull, however, and you do not carry out your obligation on obtaining your wish, Magiro will warn you once in a dream, and if still false, you, or one of your family, will die."

He is the chief of the bori city Jan Gari, and all the spirits are in his power; they cannot even leave the city

unless he gives The Keeper of The Gate permission to let them pass. In Nigeria, he will direct a farmer who invokes his aid to mix powdered portions of the roots of the *gamji*, *bauje*, and *hankufa* trees with his millet or guinea-corn seeds, and if his directions are carried out, the crop will be larger than that of anyone else. In North Africa, no farms are owned by Hausas, so there is no need to worship him as a corn spirit, and he is useful mainly for killing enemies. Some think that Magiro and Uwar-Gwona are the same, but the general opinion is that the former is a male, the latter a female. A few say that they are husband and wife. There seems to be no suggestion nowadays that this corn spirit was in any way connected with the reigning chief or head of the clan, although these men were responsible for the fertility of the fields. But it would be most unsafe to say that there never was any connexion, and it may be as well to note that in Tchekna (to the east of Bornu) a man shrouded in a long black veil—a "Hidden One"—and known as *Magira* represents the Sultan's mother (even though deceased) in state processions, and, as such, has precedence over everyone. He is supposed to be the "incarnate ghost of the queen-mother." In Bornu the part is taken by a woman.¹⁴ In Tripoli, one of the priestesses is called "Mother of the King" (see p. 278). The name seems to mean "He with the Eyebrows," or, possibly, "The Frowning One."

Mr C. E. Boyd of the Northern Nigeria Political Department sends me the following notes referring to the portion of the Bangawa tribe inhabiting some rocky hills about forty miles north-east of Kontagora. Some time ago, as the result of a quarrel over the question of succession to the chieftainship of Katsina, the successful chief's brother emigrated with a following to Zanzibar. On his

death, some of these people returned to Katsina, but others remained to look after the tomb, and were known as Bayan Gawa (Behind the Corpse), later on shortened into Bangawa. Subsequently they emigrated to Donko (about a hundred miles north of Kontagora), and, as another quarrel arose over the succession, a portion split off, and went to Ukata, or Bangi, in the hills sixty miles away. "There is little doubt that human sacrifices used to be offered there, up to comparatively recent times, to propitiate evil spirits in time of stress. . . . In the case of an important or wealthy man who had incurred the jealousy of his fellows, it was customary to throw a corpse into his house in the dead of night. The owner of the house, if he did not make good his escape at once, was seized and charged with murdering the deceased by witchcraft and was taken off to the 'Magiro.' He was never seen or heard of again. The Gidan Magiro is surrounded by a thicket, and is invisible from the outside." This method of procuring victims was not peculiar to the Hausas, as I have pointed out elsewhere, and there is but little doubt that Magiro was a foreign spirit, almost certainly, Moloch, or Baal Hammon, introduced at the same time as Tanith.

Just exactly who Baal Hammon was it is not necessary to argue here, but it is worthy of note that he has been identified especially with the Amon whose shrine and oracle is situated in the oasis of Siwa, and that he was worshipped there not only under the Egyptian form of a ram, but also in connexion with a stone strongly suggestive of Semitic rites. This is only natural, for since a close connexion always existed between Siwa and the Phœnician Colonies in North Africa, a mixture of Libyan and Semitic beliefs is a natural corollary. Here too must have been worshipped his companion, that composite goddess—who

also had both Libyan and Semitic characteristics—Neith, or, with the Berber feminine article—*ta*—prefixed, Ta-Nith, corresponding to, and possibly influenced by, Astarte.

Baal Hammon became by degrees identified with the sun ; not, however, the glorious Amon-Ra, but a dark and terrible god, to whom sacrifices of human beings were necessary as well as those of the bull and the ram—the horns of which he wore. He had a temple in Carthage, near that of Tanith, but his principal sanctuary, consisting merely of an enclosed grove, was situated in the saddle-backed mountains opposite — appropriately named “Horned Father”—where not only prisoners of war, but even children of the noblest families were sacrificed to him. Later on dogs were burned also, horses too, and no doubt the belief in the efficacy of a burnt dog’s head is due to this custom, as is also that in a horse’s power against witches (see *ante*, p. 90, and H.S.C., Story No. 95).

The Romans fostered the cult at first, but identified Baal Hammon with Kronos the gloomy god who devoured his children until dethroned by one who had escaped, a myth familiar to the Hausas in the story of the witch who ate her children (H.F.-T., 155). Probably Mallam Alhaji, who corresponds in many respects to Father Time, is connected with this aspect of the god. Tiberius forbade the worship and crucified the priests to trees in their own sacred grove, but it was not crushed out immediately, for five children were sacrificed in 1535, when Charles V. threatened Tunis, and traces still exist in the practices of the Aisawias.

Cruelty and sensuality usually go together, so no doubt the rites of Baal Hammon became licentious. But in any case the worship of Tanith was so closely associated with that of Baal Hammon that it is almost impossible to

say which had the greater influence upon the bori rites, for Tanith also demanded the sacrifice by her votaresses of their chastity or their hair.

We can now the better understand the reason of the Filani for wishing to suppress the rites in Northern Nigeria, perhaps, for in North Africa also Islam has prohibited the participation of the women—except as spectators—in many festivals, and so has eliminated the orgies which used to accompany them. It is only in theory, however, for many such practices still exist in North Africa in spite of the protests of the more orthodox.

The summer and winter suns were naturally differentiated, Baal being supposed to go down to the grave and to rise again as are gods in other religions. The dying of the god was celebrated by :

1. Sacrifices : *(a)* of the first-born—even now avoidance exists between the Hausa father and his eldest son ; *(b)* of girls in mystic marriages—compare H.S.C., Story 99, where the girl throws herself into the fire to resurrect her lover ; *(c)* of prisoners—common all over Africa ; *(d)* of animals—the magical value of the heads of horses and dogs have been commented upon.

2. Mutilations : *(a)* scratching the face—this apparently was not adopted by the Hausas, though still indulged in by the Arabs and others ; *(b)* emasculation ; *(c)* self-torture—now of the Aisawias and of the Masu-Bori. The two latter kinds have been attenuated into circumcision in most cases.

3. Sacrificial Feasts : *(a)* of human victims at first—and still so in certain cases ; *(b)* of dogs—even to-day a dish with magical influence ; *(c)* of other animals.

The reawakening of the god was celebrated by Phallic rites : *(a)* of sacred prostitution—of which survivals are

found amongst the Walid Nails in North Africa, and amongst the Masu-Bori ; (b) of orgies—of which the Fittan Fura and the feast in the temple are survivals ; (c) of lascivious dances—of which modern representatives are still to be seen—*e.g.* the *danse du ventre*, in North Africa, and the performance of the bori Jato.¹⁵

CHAPTER XIX

BORI—THE TEMPLES AND THE SECT

THE principal medicine-house (*gidan tsafi*) in Tunis is a long, narrow room in an Arab building called the *Gidan Kuri* (House of Kuri), though really it is only a part of the *Gidan Jama'a* (House of the Community), *jama'a* originally signifying the elementary social unit, or clan, though it does not bear exactly that meaning in this case. *Gidan Jama'a* is the more general name, and it corresponds to our "temple" or "church," the temples being named after particular bori (in this case Kuri) just as are our churches after saints. Unfortunately I have lost the measurements, but they were about 25 ft. by 18 ft. by 9 ft. In any case they are not important, as the room was only rented ; it was not built for the purposes of the *Musu-Bori*.

In the centre of the room, in a wide recess opposite the door, were fixed shelves of Arab manufacture, gaily painted in gold and colours, and holding pots and cups (as is seen in the frontispiece) filled with ground-nuts, sugar, and sweets, offerings to the younger spirits. These were usually covered by a white cloth (see Ill. 28), to which were fastened two dolls, the playthings of *Mai-Nassara*. Below were hung the trappings of the various adult bori, and toys for the children.

On each side of the wide recess was one very much smaller, like a blind window. In the one on the right hand, which contained two bottles of oil and a night-light in a tumbler of water, was burnt incense to *Mai-Inna* * (or

Doguwa) on Thursday nights. That on the left contained a lamp, and was connected with the rites due to Abd El Khadari, an Arab marabout evidently becoming Hausaised into a bori, while in each corner stood spears, clubs, pestles, and other insignia. The principal objects were the various weapons, etc., illustrated later on, a straw hat, and two red goat-skins, ornamented with cross-pieces of leather, bells, and cowries for Jato; a similar skin, a bow and arrows, and beads for Gajere Mai-Dowa; a rope, knotted



FIG. 27.—Plan of the Gidan Kuri, the special Apartment or *Daki* (= Chapel) of this Spirit being curtained off on the Right

at each end, for Mai-Kurufu; a narrow coloured cotton sash ornamented at the ends with bells and beads for Kwollen Kwolma; a string of prayer-beads and charms, and a prayer-board for Mallam Tsofo; an ornamented leather bag for Yerima's tobacco; a fly-whisk and a gourd for Uban Dowaki; an ornamented razor-case for Mai-Aska; a red smoking-cap covered with cowries for Sarikin Gwari, and one of green velvet, ornamented with red and white beads and cowries for Ba-Gwariya; a yellow quilted cap ornamented with a ridge of yellow wool and a stripe up one side composed of red beads and small white cowries for Kuri; a mat lined with cowries for Sarikin Makafi; and a few skittles painted green with red stripes



28.—The Recess in the Gidan Kuri.
29.—The Holy of Holies.

and yellow daubs, and several dolls for the Yayan Jidderi.

At one end, which is raised (for a bed originally), a cloth hangs down, screening off Kuri's private apartment (see Ill. 29), but his throwing stick and pestle and the special wrappings of all of the bori are hung on the wall, opposite to the door. I was not allowed to look inside the private apartment, which was carefully guarded at first, so, of course, I did not do so—at least not while there were Hausas there. It was not because they had any mere personal objection, I was told, but because of the fact that no one but the Arifa could enter and live, and they did not want to be responsible for my death. It was a veritable Holy of Holies. But on our fifth visit we found only three old women in the compound, and, my wife having managed to attract their attention by means of a bottle of Eau de Cologne, I was left alone in the temple.

Inside the white sheet, on which was fastened a doll, said to belong to Doguwa, one of Kuri's wives, were hung two other white sheets screening the right-hand corner nearer the door. Behind the third sheet were bottles of beer, an offering to Kuri, who—being one of the pagan spirits—is fond of this beverage, some milk for his wife, Doguwa, and some eggs for Mai-Ja-Chikki. Between this and the second sheet were the *sandukan Kurt* (Kuri's box), in which are kept the offerings made by the members of the community, and an object of leather covered with cowries. I could not examine this properly, but it seemed not to be an idol, simply a head-dress, possibly one used in the Bu Sadiya. Why it should have been kept there I do not know, but I expect that from its resemblance to the head-dress sometimes worn by Kuri and others (see Ills. 7 and 44) some connexion has been or is being

imagined. It is probably a symbol of some powerful pagan spirit. Outside this sheet were other boxes containing candles, grain, etc., I believe, though I did not have time to open them.

At the other end of the room, opposite Kuri's apartment, were mortars, pestles and dishes used at the feasts, and drums for the dances, while on the wall near to the door were more dolls, miniature sandals, etc., and even wooden horses.

The object of the offerings is, of course, to appease the spirits, and whereas the elder ones usually prefer a sacrifice, food, or a contribution to the sandukan Kuri, except when their wardrobe requires replenishing, the younger bori delight in toys and sweets, for after all, they are very much like human beings. If, therefore, a person fears that he or his will be attacked by some illness, he will make an offering to the temple; if actually ill he will ascertain the correct procedure from a boka or a Mai-Bori as has been already described. Somehow the young spirits give much more trouble than their elders, being always up to mischief (as will be understood considering the number of people with sore eyes and skin complaints), and the gifts to them are much the more numerous—fortunately so, since they are less costly—and in fact, just opposite the Gidan Kuri is a Gidan Yara (Children's House) in which are similar toys and sweets. In this are kept also the flags used in processions, but there is no particular reason for this except convenience apparently, nor for the placing of the domestic utensils in the larger room, though, of course, they are safer there than elsewhere from thieves.

I have described this temple, if so it may be called, fully, because it is the oldest and the best in Tunis, and also because the others are arranged upon similar lines. The

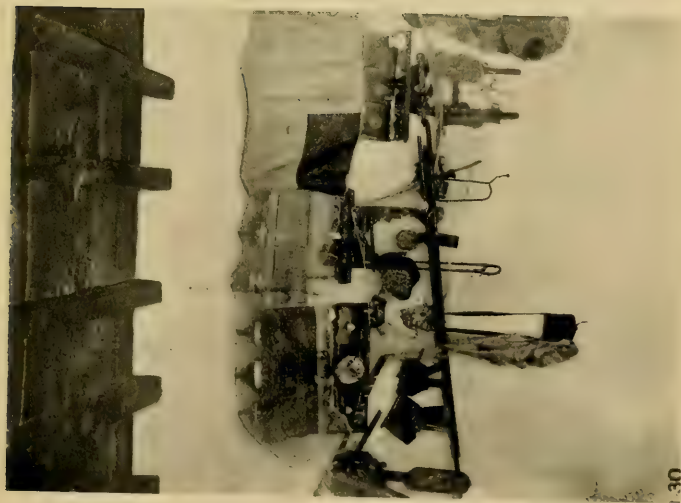
one which I saw in Tripoli was practically the same though very much smaller, but there, Doguwa had a special apartment in the house of Jibaliya, in addition to her niche in the Gidan Kuri.

When a new house or room has been obtained for the use of the spirits, it must first be well censed, and sand is sprinkled upon the floor. Then a sacrifice of a white hen and a red cock must be made upon the threshold, but a little of the blood must be allowed to run in upon the floor, so that the bori will really go inside. When this has been done, the weapons, implements, and trappings will be brought in, and the spirits will have taken up their abode there. The ceremonies are completed by a bori dance which may last from one to three days. Nothing is done to the old house, for bori naturally follow their trappings and weapons, and rush to drink the blood of the sacrifice in their new abode.

A woman with the title of *Arifa* (priestess) or *Sarauniya* (chieftainess) is in charge of the room, and it is her duty to open it each day, and to see that all is in order, but at certain regular times she must get another to act for her. Animals are not allowed to enter it, for they would probably make a mess there, and the spirits would naturally be offended, for all are clean except Jato and his colleagues. Each Thursday night, except during the month of Azumi, a candle is lighted and incense is burned there, but not on other nights at the expense of the sect. But if someone wanted to work evil, he might do so on Thursday or even Wednesday night. Some time ago a woman burnt a candle on a Wednesday night. One of the Sarauniya's attendants (Khadeza the Mai-Ja-Chikki), who was temporarily in charge, tried to dissuade her from doing so, but she would persist in her purpose. Next day Khadeza found

that the candle was burnt only half-way through, and she knew then that the woman would have her wish. There is a danger in this procedure, for if the whole of the candle had been burnt, the wish would have recoiled upon the burner. It seemed to me that the extinction of the candle implied failure on the part of the person who had lit it, but I was assured that this was not so. Probably, since a candle is usually regarded as driving away an evil spirit (not attracting it) the fact that it went out showed that the spirit had conquered. In this case, the worshipper would nearly always seem to obtain his wish, for he could easily manage to put in some substance which would extinguish the flame at a certain point. This is quite natural, for the Hausa is not above trying to help—or even to deceive—the bori which he invokes !

During the month of Azumi (the fast) each year, there are certain changes in the rites. Three days before the fast commences a black he-goat is sacrificed, and a dance is held on that and the two following days. On the eve of the fast, the room is locked up until the fifteenth day, when it is opened, and some incense is burned, it being then locked up again. On the twenty-seventh day one red cock and a white hen are sacrificed inside the house, and then (about one A.M.), the Sarauniya sits down outside the door with a couple of drummers and any others present, and burns incense. Soon the drummers play the special beats for Kuri, Yerima, Jato, Sarikin Rafi, and Mai-Aska, under the direction of the Sarauniya, and each of these comes out in reply to his individual summons, and flies away. Mallam Tsofo has been sitting by the door all this time, he has not been locked up like the others, for he is so old, and he is among the first to be summoned and allowed to go. These are comparatively good spirits, and



30.—The Room of the Child Bori, opposite the Dakin Kuri.



31.—The end of the Gidan Belk at Tunis.

do not wish to harm anyone, but the others which are not so dependable are kept as long as possible. On the eve of the Salla, however, all are allowed to go, being summoned in the same way. But they rush out so madly—especially the Yayan Jidderi and the other bori children—that they injure many mortals, and so you see next day plenty of people with sore eyes (because the Little Spots have brushed against them), weak or swollen legs and arms (caused by Doguwa), and other complaints. Only a cynical and ignorant European would imagine that the fasting by day and the gorging at night were responsible. During the time that they are imprisoned thus, the bori can do no harm, and it is only right that spirits capable of working evil should not be allowed to go amongst people engaged in such a very religious act as that of fasting, but they are also incapable of doing any good either, so it is of no use appealing to them at that time.¹

The bori sect is composed of those who have been initiated into the mysteries, and there are several ranks in it. The general names are *Masu-Bori* (doers of or possessors of—and probably possessed by—the spirits), *Yam-Bori* (children of the spirits), or *Dowakin Bori* (horses or mounts of the spirits), a male being a *doki* (horse), and a woman a *godiya* (mare) because the bori mount their heads or upon the backs of their necks, and ride them. Neither membership nor office is hereditary, though it is extremely probable that if a parent is a member, at least one of the children will join when old enough.

With the exception of the Arifa, the members are not bound to be married or to be single, but she must always be a widow or a divorcée, I understand. It is not impossible that we see in this a survival of the custom at the temple of Bel at Babylon, where women were set apart as •

the human wives of the deity, elsewhere in West Africa, the priestess is noted for her licentiousness.⁹ Prostitution is not a characteristic of the cult, and special means were taken even in Northern Nigeria to prevent exposure of the person, but in that country many—and here some—people of loose morals join in the dances so as to be able to attract more attention, and apparently to command higher fees, though they are said to be looked down upon by the proper professors. In fact, the Masu-Bori must abstain from sexual intercourse for a period of three days before the rites (some go even up to ten), and for the whole time during their continuance—a strange tabu considering the origin of the dances—and they should also drink no intoxicant of any kind. Should they break this tabu, one of the spirits will be certain to notice it, and will cause his doki to go over to him or her, and begin to sniff. If the bori be Kuri or another of the Babbaku, everyone will know that the person has had connexion, for Kuri does not mind beer-drinking since he indulges in it himself, but if it is not Kuri there will be a doubt. In either event the guilty person will be ejected at once, otherwise he would be killed by the offended spirit, and perhaps even some of the spectators would suffer. Haj Ali saw a case in Tripoli seven years ago. A man named Dan Juma, whom Sarikin Rafi always mounted, was known to ignore the tabu upon women. The other Masu-Bori argued with him, but to no effect, and at last he was so foolish as to give way upon the very eve of the rites. Next day Sarikin Rafi mounted him, and threw him down a well, and, when there, made Dan Juma sneeze and so expel him. Had Sarikin Rafi remained in him, the man could have been made to jump out of the well as easily as he had been thrown in, of course, but as it was, he was helpless, and it was not until the people above

had helped him that he could get out. That lesson was sufficient, and he never sinned again, and so was all right afterwards.

The head of the Masu-Bori next to the bokaye—and in rites at the temple sometimes above them—is a woman, chosen by the members for the position, and called in Hausaland Sarauniya, in North Africa either Sarauniya or, as has been said, Arifa. She gets a larger share than the others of the offerings at the rites, and she may take a certain amount of the food, beer, and candles, etc., offered to the spirits by the worshippers. Generally, the beer should be left in the gidan tsafi for a year, and the grain, etc., must remain until renewed, while there must always be candles enough to burn on Thursday nights. About nine years ago, the Arifa who was in power then, Ayesha, had a horrible lesson. She had been taking the food and drink too soon, and sometimes there were no candles at all on a Thursday, so the bori were naturally very angry. One day there was a dance, and Ayesha joined in when Yerima had mounted her, and surprised everyone by her agility. Usually she hobbled about on a stick, but that day she jumped like a young girl. After one final bound, she sat still, and Yerima told the people through her mouth of all that she had done. She then sneezed, and immediately he had left her, she screamed, and the people, on rushing to her, found that she had broken her right thigh. She was so old that the doctors wanted to amputate her leg, but the Masu-Bori would not hear of this, so they made her a special bed, and did their best for her, allowing her to retain her quarters. But it was of no use, for in three months' time she was dead.

In Tripoli, the Arifa, Haja Gogo, is chief diviner as well, and though, of course, any of the Masu-Bori can discover.

the correct spirits to be propitiated in time of trouble, the higher and more experienced the mount, the more successful will be his or her prognostications.

Under the orders of the Arifa are the *Magajiya* (Heiress or Lieutenant), the *Arifa Karama* (Little Arifa), and the *Kasheka*, in Tunis, while in Tripoli the grades are *Arifa*, *Galadimiya* (Princess), *Uwar Sariki* (Mother of the King), and *Kalankuwa* (? the Charm). At festivals, various servants are appointed, the *Sarikin Samari*, *Fagge*, or *Mai-Ruwa*, and the cooks and others, as has been seen.

The rent for the Gidan Kuri at Tunis is two hundred and twenty francs per annum, paid half-yearly. When the payment is nearly due, notice is sent to all the members of the community, and a small box is brought out and placed in the midst of the assembled worshippers. As soon as everyone has made his offering, the money is counted, and should there be a surplus (as there always is), it is earmarked for candles, oil, incense, etc., for the Thursday-night offerings. At the ordinary dances, about one half is supposed to go into this box.

The Bori Jama'a is not by any means without its good points. If a poor, strange man or an unmarried woman arrives in Tunis, and is connected with anyone belonging to the particular community, he or she will go to the tsafi house and report, and the Arifa will then arrange for him or her to be kept until work has been found. A room next to the Dakin Kuri is assigned to such a visitor, and members of the community will take it in turn to bring him a day's food. Should everyone have done so, and the stranger be still destitute and workless, a donation will be allowed from the sandukan Kuri or, if it is empty, a contribution will be levied upon the members. At present (May) there are two women there of whom one—a former

cook at the Ziara—is too old and feeble to marry. She has been there six months and will be kept until she dies, and then the community will pay her funeral expenses, for no member is allowed to die a pauper.³ But she was a very long time in dying, according to my informants, and the sandukan Kuri was *quite* empty—a hint which could not be ignored, in spite of the fact that I had the very best reasons for knowing the contrary to be the case. Of course, a person who was well and strong would have to do something sooner or later, for if he wilfully sponged upon the community he would be expelled. But such a thing is exceedingly rare, natives know one another too well, and none but regularly approved candidates are admitted to this lodge of ancient pagan African Freemasons.

CHAPTER XX

BORI—THE DANCES

A BIG dance, in honour of Mohammed's birthday, was held in Tunis the week after our arrival, and as it lasted for three days (from the 18th to the 20th of February) there was ample opportunity to witness it. Owing, however, to the fact that a tarpaulin had been stretched across the courtyard from the tops of the walls, so as to shield the dancers and spectators from the sun, all the photographs taken were worthless, and I had to arrange special performances later in order to obtain some of the illustrations given here.

At Tripoli I was more lucky. The people had not had a dance of any kind since the arrival of the Italians, and as I procured permission for them to continue their rites and customs (an easy matter, for the Government is sympathetic), and as again I was paying the piper, the Hausas were ready to do anything that I wished. I had their tarpaulin removed, therefore, and managed to obtain a number of photographs, the day being Whitsunday, not altogether an inappropriate season for approaching, at any rate, the nature spirits. A marked difference will be noted in the expressions of the dancers, for in Tunis many of them are seen to be laughing, whereas in Tripoli, where they were in earnest, there is no suspicion of anything of the kind. The people imagine themselves to be in a dangerous state when being ridden, and any merriment or even inattention would bring immediate punishment.

So completely are the bori and the mount thought to be identified, that if a man be ridden by a female spirit, the audience remarks that *she* is dancing well, etc., the sex of the dancer not counting. For that reason either men or women can be ridden by any bori in whose mysteries they have been trained. There is another difference—namely, that whereas in Tunis men and women, or rather “horses and mares,” dance in the ring together, in Tripoli this does not occur, and even in Nigeria I have never seen them performing actually at the same moment.

At Tunis, the courtyard was crowded with Arabs and Hausas sitting upon the ground, and leaving a small space clear in front of the musicians for the dancers. At Tripoli the house was two-storeyed, and the surrounding balconies also were full of interested spectators. In Nigeria, of course, the performances are given in an open space, and by comparing the following chapters with the account in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, it will be seen that there are several differences.

At Tunis, the musicians (all males) were eight in number, and they sat upon their haunches in a crescent formation, in the following order. First, on the left facing us was a man with an earthenware drum (*kurkutu*) of which one side only was covered with parchment. The drum was placed upon the floor in front of him, and was played with two straight pieces of stick, used so that they beat the parchment with the flat and not with the points. Next were two men holding a pair of iron implements (*karakab*) in each hand, in shape like a double spoon, and clacking them together, the sound reminding one somewhat of “bones,” though the *karakab* were held in the palm of the hand, and not between different fingers. Next sat two men with large drums under their left arms,

having parchment on each side (*ganga*), their right hands playing with one piece of straight stick, their left hands pressing the parchment so as to muffle or alter the tone.



FIG. 28.—A Basin-shaped Drum, the *Kurkutu*, with the Sign of the Hand. Played with two straight Sticks

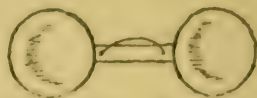


FIG. 29.—Iron Clappers or *Karakab*

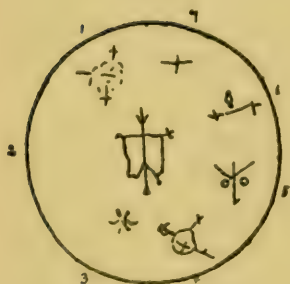


FIG. 30.—Signs upon the large Drum

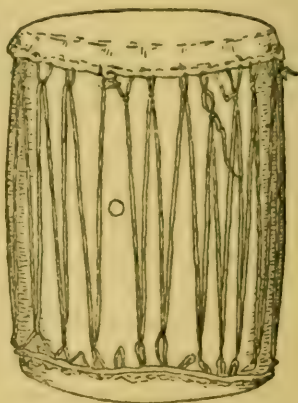


FIG. 31.—Large Drum or *Ganga* with a Hole into which *Mai-Ja-Chikki* is supposed to pass. The Drum is smeared with Blood. Played with one straight Stick

Next were two other men with *karakab*, and then another with a large drum. In front of these was a mat upon which the offerings were to be made. The signs upon one of the big drums (the centre one) are worth noting. The drummer knew the signification of only two of them—at

least those are all which he could or would tell me, but Nos. 5 and 6 resemble some of the Arab representations of eyes which are given by Douthé. They, as well as Nos. 2 and 4, may be symbols of Tanith, but I must be careful not to build upon such a slight resemblance, especially as Abd Allah said that No. 2 was a prayer-board, No. 3



FIG. 32.—A Guitar or *Gimbiri*



FIG. 33.—A Vase-shaped Drum or *Durubuka* used at Tripoli. Played with the open Hand

being a fly. At the dances, which were arranged specially for me, there were two men with *karakab*, and one with a *gimbiri*, a kind of guitar.

At Tripoli there were differences. On the extreme left sat an old man—the only member of his sex—with a *gimbiri*, next to him was a woman with a *kurkutu*, and the fifth one had a similar instrument. The third, fourth, sixth, and ninth musicians had a *durubuka* each, an

earthenware vase with parchment over the open bottom, played with the right hand. The seventh had an upturned calabash which she beat rapidly with two straight sticks, and the eighth had a rattle.

In Nigeria, a violin is always used, in fact that and the upturned calabash are usually the only instruments of music, not even the drum being seen. The durubuka, kurkutu, karakab, rattle, and gimbiri are Arab instruments, though many kinds of drums, stringed instruments and rattles are known in Hausaland, of course, drawings of several of which have been given elsewhere,¹ so these may be compared. At Tunis, the gimbiri is used at night, and sometimes the violin also. In Nigeria, the musicians are, I believe, invariably men; in Tunis they are generally so, but in Tripoli all except one were women. A mat is spread in front of the orchestra, usually a bowl or calabash also, for the reception of offerings.

There was no altar and no sacrifice at the latter city; the bori can be summoned by incense and drumming alone, as is the case at the Ziara, or even solely by incense—*e.g.* by the diviner—but the rites at Tunis were more complete last February, commencing about two-thirty P.M. At first there was a good deal of preliminary dancing in front of the musicians, each person, male or female, moving more or less sedately at first, and not falling down, the object being, apparently, to show off the different cloths owned by the dancer, though, originally, the change of vestments may have had a religious motive; it was not until the sacrifice had been made that the bori “mounted their horses.”

At three-thirty P.M. the following song was sung by the Masu-Bori:



32



32.—The Recess in the Gidan Belik.

33.—The sacrificial altar with the incense and special foods at the foot.

“Where, where are they, where are the lovers of God?
Let them help.

Where are the lovers of God and of the Prophet, the
King?

Where are the lovers of God? Let them help.

O Arifa with the incense, enter the ring,

Our Mother, step in and come.”

The Arifa then entered the dancing-space with an earthenware kyanu of incense, and waved it in every direction, while one of the principal bokaye stood up and called upon the Prophet. After this, the people felt somewhat relieved, for had anyone tried to induce any bori to enter before these ceremonies had been performed, although he would have been unsuccessful, he would have been certain to die before very long.

Then an altar ² was erected in rear of the spectators, and the three men with the big drums moved to a point facing it. First a large white cloth—the emblem of Death—was hung on two spears leaning against the wall, so as to reach the ground, over this being folded a blue cloth (both of these referring to Kuri's wife, Doguwa), and to one of the spears Jato's goatskin was suspended, while at the foot was placed a circular mat upon which were certain objects hidden by a small white cloth. I was not allowed to approach close to the altar at first, but there was no circle drawn upon the ground as a boundary.

A black he-goat was then led in front of the altar, and was held by two men, while the Arifa and other chief women present passed the pot of incense three times over the back and under the belly of the goat, and then around each leg. The he-goat made water during this operation, and its organ was censed, but whether this was accidental or not I am unable to say, though I think that it was. But

I was told that this was a good sign, and that it is regarded as such is extremely likely, for the feeding of the animal seems to be a survival of an agricultural rite, and in this case the urinating would symbolise the rainfall. I was not allowed to photograph this part of the ceremony, for many of the people of Tunis are still afraid of the camera, especially at such a time, thinking that if anything goes amiss in the rites, the influences invoked will turn against the worshippers, and injure rather than benefit them. I had to persuade the Arifa to do it for me privately later on, therefore, when she had come to know me better—and would make certain that she would not have to share with others any votive offerings made in consequence.

The small white cloth was then removed from the foot of the altar, and four of the china vessels from the Gidan Kuri were exposed to view, each one covered by a round mat of basket-work. These were removed in turn, and the goat was fed by a spoon with a little of the contents of each, which were (1) flour and water, (2) milk and cooked rice, (3) cooked beans, and (4) coriander, three other women assisting in this operation. Sometimes honey may be mixed with the flour and milk.³

Then one of the men (if possible, according to one informant, the doki of Geshe, Yerima, or Mai-Aska), who was holding the he-goat, knelt down on his left knee, put both arms over the body of the animal, and, catching hold of its feet, pulled it upon his right knee, turning it upside down at the same time. He immediately cut its throat, and threw it upon the ground, where it flung itself about several times in its last convulsions, and its blood gushed out upon the ground.⁴ A red cock was also sacrificed and thrown down by it. Immediately some of the dowaki began yelling, and certain ones of them flung themselves



34



34.—The Arifa censuring the sacrificial Goat.

35.—Feeding the animal with the special foods.

upon the ground and began drinking the blood, these being Mai-Ja-Chikki, Kuri, Sarikin Pawa, Jigo, and Jam Maraki. Others smeared their faces and clothes—and their instruments also, in the case of the musicians—with the blood, and the Arifa, having scooped some of it up, sprinkled those near her. The first of the bori had now mounted, and the persons possessed were forcibly conducted into the dancing-space.

The first to appear were Kuri (Haj Ali), Jam Maraki (Khameis), and Mai-Ja-Chikki (Khadeza), and, after a little while, Haj Ali became Jigo, and Khameis Gajere, while Salah, the father of the latter, was ridden by Mai-Aska. But Khadeza was too much overcome to take any other character, she simply lay exhausted in the ring. A few other dowaki became possessed as fresh bori arrived upon the scene, or got their turn, as the case might be, and the performances went on until six A.M. next morning, though from six P.M. until midnight, only the ordinary dancing was indulged in. Again next day, about two-thirty P.M., it recommenced, and a similar programme was performed, though there were no more sacrifices. A third day completed the rites.

As has been said, a bowl is placed upon a mat spread in front of the musicians into which are thrown the offerings from the onlookers, and if they are at all reticent some of the waiting Masu-Bori (usually females) will make a collection. At Tunis, any large gift, two francs or more, was held up by the Mai-Bori for all to see; sometimes she would stick it upon her forehead. At Tripoli, the donor often waved his coin round the head of one or more of the Masu-Bori then possessed before depositing it in the bowl. This, I was told, was merely to show appreciation of a particular spirit or spirits, for everyone has a patron, and

must make an offering when he is in the ring. As I had claimed to be under the protection of Kuri, I was called upon several times to contribute when that spirit was present, and it seemed to me that he was somewhat loath to leave. In Nigeria, kola-nuts are often poured into the dancer's mouth.

The spirits are all summoned by the incense, and expelled by the sneezing, and if any character becomes offensive to the spectators (as did Jato at Tripoli) the Arifa will touch the mount on the back of the neck and under the chin, so as to make him or her sneeze and so get rid of the spirit. The performers, as has been said, are supposed to act involuntarily and unconsciously, in fact, to be "possessed" in every sense of the word. For that reason, when describing the dances in the succeeding chapters, I have written as if the spirit itself were performing the motions, even the sneezing, and ignoring the sex of the dancer, as does the audience.

Haj Ali told me that when the bori first takes possession of him, he feels cold all over, and his limbs become so rigid that the other Masu-Bori have to cense them forcibly before he can move—I did not see them do this, however, it was not done on the first day, so far as I could see, though as each mount possessed was seized and forcibly pushed by several Masu-Bori through the crowd into the ring, it may have escaped my notice. He is not sure how or where the spirit enters, he says that it sits upon his neck with its legs upon his shoulders, and yet it is inside his head. But sneezing brings it out, though whether by the mouth, nose, or eyes he is not certain, because all parts may be affected. "A bori is like the wind, it is everywhere, so who can tell just where it goes in or out? One knows that it is there, and that is all." The dancer

nearly always has to wait some time for the spirit to get properly up, to settle down in the saddle, as it were, and he often glides around the ring or to and fro in it—this being supposed to be the bori floating in the air—or rather making his mount do so. At other times the mount becomes rigid, as has been stated.

Sometimes, he says, the women do not become possessed, and then it is evident that some enemy has put a hairpin or something made of iron into their hair, or in their head-coverings, for the bori do not like iron. When this is supposed to be the case, a boka will commence to dance, and will jump and fall three times, on the last occasion managing to seat himself just in front of the women. He then abuses them, and, having ordered them to put their heads forward, he feels about to find the neutralising influence, and upon its removal they immediately become possessed. This is something akin to the account of Jibaliya and Mai-Bille given in a previous chapter.

Five different men (including Haj Ali and Salah) said that in Tripoli and Tunis there is no *tsere* (object into which the spirit escapes and leaves its mount) for any bori except that of an animal (*e.g.* Zaki and Kadda), the sneezing alone expelling the others. At the same time, Sarikin Barchi in Tunis has a thread of cotton which influences him or her, and in Tripoli a blue silk handkerchief was pulled along the ground in front of any dancer whose spirit was treating him too roughly.

When a dance has commenced, each bori is impatient for his turn, so no individual one can remain very long, however powerful he may be. Of course, if there is no doki specially assigned to him he cannot mount at all, and this has happened in the case of Magiro, I was told, who, although he has plenty of followers, has no horse or

mare there. Magiro, however, is a very evil spirit, and is danced only once a year, all masu-bori touch the ground when his name is mentioned.

After the he-goat has been killed, it is skinned, and the inside is removed. The skin will be used for a drum, the entrails are eaten that night about nine o'clock, by those then present, while the flesh is divided up next day amongst all who have subscribed to buy it. At night candles are burnt in the Gidan Kuri, in other rooms of the Arab house where food and coffee are prepared, in the salanga, in the Dakin Yara, and in the guest-chamber.

According to Abd Allah, at midnight on the last night of the rites, before the spirits have come again, the Sarauniya sits down almost opposite the mai-gimbiri (the player on the guitar), and sets fire to a pot of incense in front of her, while a candle is lighted in front and on each side of him. Then another man, Mai-Ruwa (the water-man), sits outside the candle on the right of mai-gimbiri. Everyone sits down, and then one of the male Masu-Bori walks to and fro seven times in the ring between the Sarauniya and the mai-gimbiri, with a large basket or dish of couscous and meat (bought in the market) upon his head, ending by placing the basket upon the ground in front of mai-gimbiri, and putting out and taking away the candle there. The Sarauniya then arises, picks up her censer, and walks seven times around the dish of couscous and meat, halting the last time in front of mai-gimbiri, into whose mouth she puts three separate pinches of the food. Then she places three other pinches upon the ground by the vessel, and kneeling down, and placing her hands behind her back, she bends forward and takes a little in her lips three times—always a magical rite.⁵ Then she arises, picks up what is left upon the floor, and gives a

grain here and there to those around her. She then returns to the vessel, and having broken up the meat with her fingers, she gives one small piece to mai-gimbiri, one each to the masu-shema'a (the men looking after the candles), one to mai-ruwa, and then one each to the women of rank around her, after which, having placed her hands (backs up) in the vessel, and turned them over three times (palms up), she returns, and sits down again. The more important men then come up, and eat some of the meat and couscous, and then the musicians do the same. After that, the man who brought the vessel inserts his hand, and fills his mouth three times, saying as he does so "*Salla Annabi*," and, after this, the vessel is handed to the women, who finish the food.

Then come *masu-wuta* who pass lighted torches over themselves without injury, and others who beat their heads with clubs, and thrust swords into themselves without injury.⁶ And then, the bori spirits having reappeared, the dancing begins again, and lasts until dawn. Most of the people then go home for good, but the most influential of the Masu-Bori will sleep in the dakin tsafi that night, and sacrifice a white hen at midnight. That ends the rites, and the dancers recover as best they can, the effect lasting for several days in many cases, a diet of kola-nut being the best pick-me-up, which, on account of its stimulating properties, is regarded as being almost magical.

The method of initiation into the bori sect has been given in full elsewhere (*The Tailed Head-Hunters of Nigeria*), so there is no need to repeat it here. But it may be said that after it, all members claim to be so full of medicine that they can feel no pain or (if honest) suffer any injury during the performance. Sarikin Rafi always

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tries to fling himself into water, Gindema and Ba-Toye may throw themselves from trees if not prevented, others dash their bodies upon the ground, or against a wall, and beat themselves with clubs or whips. In Tunis the performers certainly banged the ground with their fists, but the beating with clubs and the whipping were farcical, and falling is not at all popular. In Tripoli the jumping was more lively, certainly, but the other "tortures" were inflicted with exceeding moderation. In my ignorance I thought that the reason of the gentle jumping was the hardness of the cemented floors there as compared with the soft ground of Hausaland, but I was informed that my idea was absolutely incorrect, the real cause being that the medicines of the strange land could not be compared with those of the old country, and therefore the performances suffered. Still, I have no doubt that even in North Africa there is quite enough self-punishment inflicted at times, for, when a native is worked up he does not pause to think, and there is certainly some self-induced hypnotic influence in the seizure. In any case, no act of which I have yet heard can compare with that of the English bishop who, when at the stake, deliberately held out his right hand so that it might be burnt first.

I am told that Kuri's mount must beat himself the proper number of times with the pestle or stick, otherwise he will suffer afterwards. One night, some years ago, not long after his arrival in Tunis, Haj Ali was taken by a friend to one of the other bori houses, and after a time Kuri mounted him, and he began to dance. The people there, not knowing him, gave him a big log to dance with, and he began to knock himself about so badly that they became afraid that he would kill himself, and stopped him. The friend argued with them, saying that he would

answer for Haj Ali's safety, but all in vain, and the drummers changed their call. The friend then took Haj Ali home, and he was so ill for four days that he could not rise. On learning what was the matter, the then Arifa ordered her own drummers to go to the house, taking a pestle with them, and on their arrival Haj Ali arose, got through the remainder of his performance, made up the required number of thuds upon his body, and was quite well immediately.

No mount must be given a drink during seizure, else he will vomit afterwards, and perhaps be so bad that he will die, so they say, but directly after the bori has gone, the mount may have a few sips of water. The vessel is not entrusted to him, however, a special person (Fagge or Mai-Ruwa) brings it, and holds it to his lips. Kola-nuts are the proper stimulant to be taken afterwards, but, as there are so few in North Africa, coffee is drunk instead. At Tripoli, the guests were treated to sherbet.

During seizure a mount may have his arms stretched backwards three times; this is in order to render them supple and so avoid any injury to them! If a bori is treating his mount too severely, the other Masu-Bori clasp the mount in their arms (if it be a woman), or put his head under the arm of one of them (if a man), and hold him while begging the bori to be more gentle, especially in the presence of his "children"—the other Masu-Bori. If the spirit still persists, the mount's neck and chin are touched, and the spirit "is sneezed away."

The dancing on the knees at Tripoli (Ill. 52) is peculiar, and probably is derived from the marriage dances which are held all along the coast between Gabez and Tripoli. In these, the bride and her maids let their hair loose, and perform all their movements with the upper part of the

body—a contrast to the *danse du ventre*, or *tarihize*, in which the head is kept still, while with the buttocks are performed movements like those of Jato.⁷

Bori dancing is supposed to have been introduced into Nigeria as a treatment for the insane, the actions of the performers being supposed to simulate different forms of insanity—and, of course, there is no doubt about the hallucination during possession—but the worship of the nature gods and others must have been a very ancient one amongst the Magazawa, so such an account—if indeed there is any truth at all in it—must apply merely to the fusion of different cults.

One chief of Gobir, Bawa (who believed in the jinns, of course), is related to have summoned the Masu-Bori to him, intending, if their performances were objectionable, to put an end to them by killing the members of the sect. Upon receiving the chief's message, the Sarikin Bori (corresponding to the chief boka, or Ajenge) was going to run away, but the Sarauniya told him that all would be well if he left it to her. So next day the yam-bori turned up, all being in fear and trembling except the Sarauniya, who had made her arrangements, and had had various kinds of cooked and raw food brought.

The chief first asked her to show him Doguwa, and she pointed to a long stalk of *maiwa* (a kind of guinea-corn), saying "This is doguwa [the feminine adjective, "tall"], O Chief."

Bawa next asked to see Mallam Alhaji, and she produced another species of guinea-corn called *farafara* (white), white being the proper colour for the dress of a mallam.

"Good," said the chief, "now I wish to see the mad one, Jato." So she held out a dish of beans, saying "These are Jato, for you know that if a person cooks and

eats them, and then can get no water to drink, he will go mad."

Not being satisfied yet, the chief asked to see Yerima (a prince), and she showed him a bundle of guinea-corn, saying "Fullness is a prince, for food rules the world. Hunger makes a boy like an old man, food makes an old man young."⁸ And she continued "All bori is a question of food. You know that we sacrifice fowls and goats, see, here they are, ready to be eaten"—for she had had them killed and cooked, and divided up amongst the dishes of food.

That convinced Bawa, and, instead of killing the Masu-Bori, he gave them presents, and allowed them to continue their practices.

CHAPTER XXI

BORI—THE MOHAMMEDAN SPIRITS

THE spirits are divided into several categories, the Great Ones (BABA); the Children of the Tobe (YAN RIGA)—*i.e.* those wearing the Mohammedan clothing; the Black Men or Pagans (BABBAKU); the Youths (SAMARI); the Warriors or Children of the Shield (YAN GARKE); the Children of the Grove (YAN KURIMI); or of the Stream (YAN RAWA); those responsible for petty illnesses, the "Little Spots" (YAYAN JIDDERI); and a few others who seem to be unclassified. As the dancers in the photographs are not always in the order in which they appear in the following lists—some of the spirits preferring to keep bad company—the number of the photograph in which the bori appears has been placed in parentheses after the name in each case.

The greatest of all is MAGIRO, and as he is a Ba-Maguje, or pagan Hausa, he might have been placed in the next chapter, but being "the grandfather of all the spirits" he must come first. No one in Tunis or Tripoli cares to perform his dance, so he is not usually represented at the rites, but he has some worshippers who screen off a corner of the room with a white cloth, and entice him there by offering incense and promising him sacrifices.

The next one in order of importance is MALLAM ALHAJI (the Learned Pilgrim), or MALLAM TSOFO (the Learned Old Man) (36), a Hausa, the oldest of all the town bori,

and the chief of the Yan Riga. He is very learned, is praying continually, and will harm no one unless annoyed, but being the spirit of old age, he must carry off some people in the end. He seems to be the same as that Angel of Death, described in an Arabic Midrash as a decrepit old man, who was sent to take Abraham. He is the father of Yerima, but not the husband of Doguwa, as he is said to be in Nigeria. He is a town spirit, and sits at the threshold of the house, but owing to his age does not arrive at the dances until after many of those from the bush. He gives medicines for any sickness when his aid is invoked, the proper sacrifice being a ram, or, in default, a white cock and hen ; he wears prayer-beads, and he holds a stick in his hand with which to walk.

At the dance he walks around the ring, bent almost double, coughing weakly all the time, and then he sits down and commences to count beads with his right hand and to read from an imaginary Koran or a prayer-board which he holds in his left hand. He then goes through the actions of the prayer, the photograph showing him in the last position, the sajadda. After that, he sneezes and goes away, and then the dancer rises and retires.

The song sung by the musicians or other Masu-Bori to him is :

“ Begin the song of The Learned One, The Father of Many,
 Begin the song of The Learned One, The Father of Many,
 [These are the lines with the music in Chapter XVII.]
 Complete the town, O Horn of pushing, [*i.e.* make it pure
 by your efforts,]
 White Wizard, like men,
 It is your day, Pilgrim, Learned old Man who works
 hard.
 See the great one of the town, the Father of Many, ”

White wizard like men,

It is your day, Pilgrim, Learned Old Man who works hard.

To-day [comes] our father, the old man, Learned Old Man, the father of Yerima.

Wearer of the White Tobe, it is your day, Learned Old Man.

To-day [comes] our father, the Old Man, the Old Doctor, the boat [bearer = father] of Yerima.

He who has the mat [upon which he sits] Old Man, Old Doctor.

From Mecca he will go to Medina,

The old Pilgrim, Man of Men.

Complete the town without delay, O Net of Many Meshes, [i.e. to catch things in, cf. "fishers of men."]

It is your day, Pilgrim, Learned Old Man."

The next spirit in order of importance, KUTURU (Leper), GURUGU (Lame One), DUNGU (Deformed One) (48) is also a Hausa, but as he does not like these names he is generally called UBAN DOWAKI (Master of the Horse) or SARIKIN KOFA (Keeper of the Gate). It is he who stays by the gate of Jan Gari, and gives the spirits egress or not, according to Magiro's commands. He can give medicines for various diseases (including his own) if invoked, the proper sacrifice being a fowl with distorted feathers. But he is bad-tempered, and will give a human being a cold in the head and even leprosy at once should he laugh at him, so all, even the other spirits, keep out of his way. In the photograph he is in rather disgraceful company, for he is with two of the Babbaku. Should he appear at the dance, his mount stumbles along, making faces and noises as he moves. He then sits down and hides his legs, and waves his arms before his face, his hands hanging down (for the spirit has neither hands nor feet), brushing away invisible



36



37

36.—Spirits of the Great Mallams.

37.—Uwal Yara, or Magajiya, the spirit which gives croup and other ailments to children.

flies from imaginary sores. He is not popular, as has been said, and though flattered, he is encouraged to go away as soon as possible.

When he appears he makes the following speech or *kirari*.

“Um, um, um. You think me useless because I have no fingers, nor toes. The hyena says ‘The footprint is confusing, is the man going this way or that way?’ for if there is no foot the print is round.”

The song sung to him is :

“Open the door, I sing your praises,
Keeper of the Gate, Son of Magajiya.
Open the door, Son of Magajiya,
Keeper of the Gate, I sing your praises.”

And then, if he takes no notice :—

“Master of the Horse open the gate for me,
Hey, Leper, open the gate for me,
Hey, Distorted One, open the gate for me.”

These are the great ones of the spirit community. The Yan Riga and the Babbaku are about equal in importance, though as the chief ones of the former are greater than the heads of the latter, it may be as well to take the Yan Riga first. They are all Hausas and Mohammedans, and are classed as more or less good spirits, though any of them will kill or injure any human being who annoys him, of course. Some of these, the mallams, are evidently marabouts, a few are probably ancestors, but the majority seems to consist of jinns borrowed from foreign sources.

First come the mallams who are much the same. MALLAM ALI, and MALLAM ALKALI are the chief ones, and a little

farther down the list come MALLAM DAN SANGAMMI, MALLAM DUWATSU, and MALLAM DAN KALGO. All of these are supposed to be near the mosques for the most part, and to be praying continually, and—I suppose—to be bringing some good upon the community, though I could not discover that any particularly valuable power was ascribed to any one of them except Mallam Duwatsu—who settles quarrels—though he himself is very hot-tempered. They prescribe medicines—or rather charms—for any complaints if invoked, but no special illnesses are attributed to their influence. Alkali (36) is a Kano spirit, and the patron of the dyers. All wear white clothes and prayer-beads, and all carry sticks. The proper sacrifice is a ram, preferably one with black rings around its eyes (*rago mai-kwoll*), in default, a white cock and hen, or either. In Hausaland, the rites would be performed at the foot of a tsamiya, or a kawo tree, but in North Africa in some secret place in the house, probably the salanga.

At the dance they sit on a mat, count their beads, and pray, waving both forefingers up and down in front of their faces.

Mallam Ali's song is :—

“ Ali, oh, without delay, let us salute my old one.
 Learned Ali, there is secret talking, there is mischief.
 Ali, oh, see the old one with laughter [*i.e.* who makes us
 laugh].
 There is the seeking after women by the old man.”

It is said that he is always trying to seduce the female bori, in spite of his age and his holy calling, and this, of course, always raises a smile.

After Mallam Alkali has prayed, he stands up, and puts

his right leg over his left and back three times, then he turns and places his left over his right. In the photograph he is praying with Mallam Alhaji. When he enters the ring, he says :—

“The judges are the owners of the world [by] God and the Prophet.”

His song (sung by the musicians and other Masu-Bori while he is in the ring) is :—

“O Judge of [belonging to] Zara [his wife] O Little Elephant, My father, My father.

Alkali will not decide [unjustly], the Bull, My father, My father

[This is the line given with the music in Chapter XVII.]

Kola-nuts are being distributed quickly [they are very scarce in Tunīṣ, as has been said, so anyone who has them must be a person of rank.]

Divide them and give me my small portion.

The people of Kano have feasts from indigo [*i.e.* make their money by dyeing clothes]

If there is no indigo there is no feast.”

The next on the list is NANA MAGAJIYA (37 and 39), other names being UWAL YARA (Mother of Children) and FATTATAKKO (Render). She is the wife of Geshe, but owing to her fierce temper and iron will, she is a much stronger spirit. She nursed several of the Yan Riga and killed them all (so their names do not appear in the list), but her only child was Haukachi, and Yerima, her brother, fearing that she would kill him also, took him away to his own house—this being the usual procedure in the human society. In her second name, Uwal Yara, she is the same as Um Es Sibyan apparently. She gives children croup, for she dislikes them (see p. 246), and when this happens

Yerima's aid should be invoked. He will scold her, and she will be ashamed and hang her head, and, while her attention is thus distracted, the victim can be removed to another house or room—as was her own. She also makes a child's body swell up (? an affection of the spleen) in consequence of some injury given perhaps unthinkingly by the child, and the swelling will stop the breathing and also kill the little victim unless reduced in time. The only way is to summon a Mai-Bori at once, and get him or her to burn incense and gently rub the stomach round and round, saying "O Uwal Yara, O Uwal Yara, be merciful, it is only a child, it did not know that it was hurting you. O Uwal Yara, O Uwal Yara, be merciful, and let it live." If the injury done has not been a very serious one, the spirit will forgive and let the child recover, but, of course, no one knows what it has done, so there is no certainty.

At the dance, she goes around in much the usual manner, but then appears to fall into a paroxysm of passion, and tries to tear her cloths (she has one large one over all) and her body, particularly her breasts (39) and mouth. Should she see any of the human mistresses of Haukachi she will fall upon them and treat them in a similar manner, so her audience is usually glad to see the last of her. In the photograph from Tripoli she is rushing round wildly looking for someone upon whom to vent her temper.

Her kirari is :—

"I am Uwal Yara, Ah ! Ah ! Ah ! I am Uwal Yara, Um, Um, Um, Um."

Her song is :—

"The elephant does not [stop to] consider, O Magajiya [and neither do you].

O One with the big cloth for carrying children,

O One with the big belly for bearing children.
 O Elephant, finish the quarrel, Magajiya,
 O One with the club for beating [people].
 The Elephant does not [stop to] consider, O Magajiya.
 O Woman like a Man, Magajiya,
 Without delay, O Mother of The Town."

The next in order of importance is YERIMA (one of the princely titles) (38), a son of Dundurusu, and he is known also as ABBA, ALFANDA, BUWAYE, DAN GALLADIMA, DAUDU, GUGAYA, GIMBA, MAI-GIDAN GORO, MAI-WUKA DAYA, MURUKUSHE, and SHAKALI. The clothes and weapons of this spirit, and the caparisons of his horse are all of gold, because he is a prince, but whether he represents an ancestor or a son of a Jinn Sultan is uncertain. He gives his victims fever or any other illness, and if they gamble he will steal their money—*i.e.* make them lose it. The reference to the knife is that being a chief's son he takes his father's knife and kills poor bori with it, and no questions are asked, for other bori think that it is the chief himself who has done the deed. The proper sacrifice is a bull or a red and white ram (*sandan bagaruwa*) or a white cock with a red saddle, and a white hen with a red breast, or else fowls with red and white spots—red being the royal colour. At the dance he wears gorgeous robes of silk and satin, and walks up and down with several others, jumps and falls, and finally sits and puts one leg stiffly over the other. A chair is brought for him and he holds his Court. Then he beats his elbows upon the ground three times, he calls his followers, cuddles them, sneezes, and goes. In the photograph (Tunis) he is being shaved by Mai-Aska, and he is wearing a dauka, a woman's head-dress, but that is merely to show that the mount (Khameis) is a boka.

His kirari is :

“ I am the greatest of the young men. I am Daudu.
[I give presents] if not with your property, then with
someone else's.
Take black potash and give it to the black goat.”

His songs are many, the best known being :

“ O Yerima, I follow God, I follow you,
Great Camel. The head of a lizard [is of no use] except
as a charm.
Yerima, roar. Really this is your father's palace [*i.e.*
you are amongst your own followers]
[This is the line given with the music in Chapter XVII.]
Drink in your praises. Here is a bucket, a bucket of
iron,
Great Camel. The head of a lizard [is of no use] except
as a charm.
Yerima, to which town shall I return ?
Great Camel. The head of a lizard [is of no use] except
as a charm.
You take me to Jan Gari or Boda,
Whatever you dislike I will leave it,
You take me to Sokoto or Rinno,
Whatever you dislike I will leave it.
O great One. Pride is enough for you,
Great Camel. The head of a lizard [is of no use] except
as a charm.”

The reference to the head of a lizard is that charms are sometimes made by writing a sentence on a piece of paper, placing it in the dried head of a lizard, and wrapping the whole in leather, thus converting it into a *laiya* or talisman for any ill to which the sentence applies. Why it is inserted here is more than my informants could tell me. Boda is a town in the Kano province, of which all the



38.—The Prince, Yerima (Khameis) being shaved by his barber, Mai-Aska (Haj Ali). To the left is Mai-Koraiya (the Arifa), while sitting down to the right is Sarikin Rafi (Araba).

inhabitants, both male and female, are said to have belonged to the bori at one time. Another song, not so polite, is :

“ He gives women a disease which cannot be cured,
 He afflicts them with worms which kill men,
 He has a two-storeyed house, a chief's income.
 He preens himself, he changes colour like a chameleon.
 He has robes of velvet.
 Not all women have seen Daudu,
 Only those with marks on their mouths [many Hausas
 have them] or Arabs.
 O Yerima, your father is a mallam, your mother [has
 her lips] pierced.”

The reference to the chameleon means that he changes his robe several times to show that—as a prince—he is well off. The last line is somewhat in derision, for a mallam should not marry such a woman since she is a very low type of pagan.

Then come MALLAM DAN SANGAMMI and MALLAM ALI GESHE, and with these may be considered two other mallams, although not next on the list—viz. DUWATSU and DAN KALGO.

Mallam Dan Sangammi (36), gives any illness, probably lumps on, or deformation of, the back, judging by the song. After his prayer, he beats his left forearm with his right three times as if cutting it, and then changes hands and does the same again, as if he were fighting, and catching the cuts of a sword upon his shield. In the photograph he is shown with Mallams Alhaji and Alkali, but he does not pray with them, he waits until they have finished, for he is their junior.

His song is :

“ You have possessions [here=private parts] Sangam,
Son of a Mallam,
You have possessions, Sangam, Son of a Mallam,
Husband of Gajera [not known otherwise], Sangam,
Son of a Mallam.
Let us go to Hausaland for the sake of this Youth.
You have possessions, O Fool, Breaker of Horses [he
twists the necks of his mounts if not pleased with
them].
Saruru, you have possessions.
You have possessions, Son of a Mallam,
O Husband with a Hump, Wife with a Hump lower
down, Breaker of Horses.”

MALLAM ALI GESHE (40), is also known as SARIKIN FUSHI (King of Wrath, who, however, in Tunis is not a bee), SARIKIN DIYA (Chief of the Youths), SIDI ALI (Lord Ali), ZAKUWA (Lion—because of his ferocity), and GADANGA (Strong One). He is the brother-in-law and cousin of Yerima, the husband of Nana Magajiya, and the father of Haukachi. He gives chest complaints and their medicines, the proper sacrifice being any cock and hen except black ones. He is extremely jealous, so it is not safe for a married woman to be his mare, for if she has slept with her husband at a recent date, the bori will cause her to break her limbs, and will kill the husband. At the dance, after praying, he beats his shoulders, hips, and chest, three times for each, then rushes at a wall, trying to batter it with his shoulders, and then he falls upon his shoulders and his chest.

In the photograph he is holding himself stiffly, ready to spring up and rush.

His kirari is :

" I went to the farm, I prepared the ground, I was left a bori without a mare," the meaning being that a woman always takes this part in Tunis, and the bori is not popular because he treats her so badly.

His song is :

" O Lion, O Geshe, O He [whose roar sounds] like a drum
[in the forest].

[Brother-in-Law] of Yerima, Sidi Ali,

Welcome to my Geshe, who has a special drum,

O Lion, Son of a Chief, consider, you consider, Sidi Ali.

See the woman against the wall, she is hurt [the godiya
is here referred to, very unusual].

[Brother-in-Law] of Yerima, Father Ali,

O Wizard Geshe, O wizard, you conquer, you avenge
yourself, O Geshe.

If the mare is good

Her bori also is good [for a mount who dances badly
will bring ridicule upon the spirit].

The character of the mount is the character of the bori,
The character of the master of the house is the character of his wives."

MALLAM DUWATSU is a youthful bori, and so is hasty, but he often settles quarrels. He gives to his victims those chest complaints which produce rapid breathing (? pneumonia), the proper sacrifice being a speckled cock and hen. At the dance he announces himself as Duwatsu the Wizard, and after having prayed, he is given a stone for each hand, and, having clenched his fists, he beats his breast with them. "To show that he is not hurt" was the explanation—probably in order to draw attention to the fact that his victims, at any rate, do have pain there.

His song is :

“ Duwatsu, the wizard, you give him room,
 The bogey, the wizard, you give him room,
 Duwatsu from the East you give him room,
 The bogey, the wizard, you give him room,
 Duwatsu, the wizard, our father is in the dancing ring
 [so throw him your offerings].
 Stones he has taken [in his hands], the young wizard,
 The friend of Ja Gaude, the breaker of kola-nuts [*i.e.* he
 is rich enough to eat them], the wizard,
 The friend of Zakuwa. Stones he has taken,
 The friend of Zakuwa.
 Dutsi has seized [someone's soul] the great wizard,
 See here a ram, drink its blood [and let the human
 victim go].
 If he has seized [someone] he, the great one,
 He will carry him off.”

In the above, East is changed to South in Tunis, but he is supposed to have come from Murzuk. Tunis is called East because one travels via Tripoli to get there from Kano, and Duwatsu is supposed to have come from there. “Our father” is simply a title of respect.

MALLAM DAN KALGO (40), is also a youth, who gives aches in the bones of the limbs (? rheumatism) and probably internal pains, the sacrifice being as for Mallam Duwatsu. At the dance he prays, and then rises and stands still, putting his left foot in front of and then behind his right several times, and raising and letting fall his right hand. He then turns about and goes through similar actions with the right foot, thinking that he is on horseback riding in amongst and spearing his enemies. He then sits down, and beats himself in the small of the back and stomach ; and then falls upon the ground,

pushes himself up on his elbows, and falls to one side. He is anything but moral, and in the photograph he is looking about for women.

His song is :

“ O Husband of Ten [he has four wives and six concubines], O Husband of Ten, Son of a Chief,
 O Husband of Ten, O Wizard, one who does the pilgrimage in one day,
 Slavery in the kitchen uses up the strength of the slaves
 [for there is plenty of pounding, kneading, stirring and cooking to be done],
 We did not bring goods, yet they [the Arabs] said
 ‘ Where are your goods ? ’
 We did not bring money, yet they said ‘ Where is your money ? ’
 O Husband of Ten, O Husband of Ten, O Young Kalgo
 [*i.e.* strong as a tree],
 Slavery in the chief’s house uses up the strength of the slaves.”

CHAPTER XXII

BORI—THE MOHAMMEDAN SPIRITS—*continued*

SARIKIN RAFI, the chief spirit of the lakes and rivers, is also known as SARIKIN KOGI (King of the Big River), SARIKIN BAHARI (King of the Big Water), SARIKIN FADDAMMA (King of the Marsh), BA-DAURE (One of Daura), or MAI-GARIN DAURA (Citizen of Daura), MAI-TUMBUTU (Owner of Timbuktu), SALIMA, DAN GOZO, and ZUGU (Shuttle). His parentage is unknown, but he was created in Daura and nursed by Nana Arzikki, I was told, though I suggest his origin in Chapter XXX. He naturally inhabits the various waters, but he is also a great farmer, for the water makes the land fertile. He is the patron spirit of the rain-makers too, apparently, though he has no direct power over the rain, he can only ask Allah to send it—possibly a later idea. He wanted all the land watered by his rivers, but the other bori objected, and at last excluded him from the southern parts of Hausaland, though, as a recompense, they allowed him to have all the country to the west as far as Timbuktu. He was once head of the Yan Riga, but he was so despotic and cruel that he was deprived of his position, and a mallam (Alhaji) was appointed in his stead.

He can give any illness, though he specialises in those brought on by damp, the proper sacrifice being a speckled cock and hen, or, on great occasions, a bull or he-goat as near as possible of the same colours.

At the dance he yells, jumps and falls, and then leans

upon one arm, repeats, and leans upon the other. He rushes at a wall and beats himself against it, and will throw himself into any water near, so the well at the Gidan Tsafi has to be guarded during his performance.



FIG. 34.—The Spear of Sarikin Rafi



FIG. 35.—The Spear of Sarikin Masu

The Arifa and others persuade him to stop these antics and spare his mount, reminding him that he is a big spirit, and usually his fury abates, but the bori may reply "The fowl does not tread upon her chicks because she hates them" (but because she does not see them), and continue.

However, eventually, he is persuaded, and when quieted he counts his beads, and then puts the palms of his hands upon his knees. If he appears with Yerima, he sits by him (as in the photograph), and will be shaved after him by Mai-Aska. A calabash of water is brought to him, and he noses it three times, and then sneezes and goes. Sometimes he walks around with a spear as if spearing fish, but he is then called SARIKIN MASU, and it is probable that these are becoming two distinct spirits though originally avatars of the same one.

His kirari is :

“ I am a strip of cloth on the earth, and a strip of cloth above. Thirty seams are the antidote to sitting idle. I am mad, my children are mad, my wife is mad.”

The Hausa cloth is made in narrow strips which must be stitched together, so people are forced to be industrious, but what the meaning of the first sentence is I could not discover. It is just possible that a river is likened to a strip of cloth. At any rate, my informants said that he referred in some way to the rain and the rivers.

The song sung to him is :

“ My father, he who has his portion, I follow God, I follow you.

O Owner of the Heavens do not throw me down, O One of Timbuktu,

O One of Jan Kassa [the Red Country where the bori are], Owner of the City of Daura,

O One of Timbuktu, you are the owner of the Red Country,

O Owner of Daura. Oh, oh, oh, Stranger [representing the cries of the ill-treated mount].

O Child of the Shuttle, save my life [*i.e.* O Cloth prevent my being injured when I am driven against the wall. The mount is supposed to be begging for mercy].
If you hear the women's cry in Jan Gari [you know that]

The rivers are swollen.

If you hear shouting in Jan Gari

The spirits are in the water.

You cringe before the women,

That is not power [He will not go to war, he stays behind and seduces the female bori].

Improve your towns, O Bad One [*i.e.* train your youths properly].

This year's war will not be finished [yet].

The pagans have slung on their quivers,

This year's war will not be finished [yet].

Fill your mouth with kola-nuts like ground-nuts [you can get them]

Where there are Filani. Tasawa is a city,

The gamblers will ruin it.

O Sir, to like you and to like another

Is not right [he is always going from one woman to another].

He roars, the earth salutes him, it is going to open.

It seems as if he is angry because he has not eaten kola-nuts [always being chewed by men of rank].

He of Daura, he is angry because he has not eaten kola-nuts.

O One of Timbuktu, you are the Owner of Jan Gari."

Next comes MAI-FITILLA (One with the Lamp) (39), who is one of the wives of Yerima. It is her duty to supervise the fires and lights in the city of Jan Gari, and generally to see that the bori children and servants do their work in the house. When she seizes a victim, his eyes turn up and in a wrong direction, and he falls down

(? in a fit). At the dance, she seizes the souls of the human mistresses of Yerima if she sees them in the ring. In the photograph, she is supposed to be eating fire, for if a string which has been soaked in oil and lighted is held out to her, she puts it to her mouth and is not burned.

Her kirari is :

“Ya, ya, ya, Light a Lamp, Light a Lamp. Light a Lamp. I eat fire.”

Her song is :

“O She-Elephant of the women of Medina [a bori city of which she is queen],
She fills her mouth with kola-nuts,
She covers her face with scent [another sign of riches and rank].”

With Mai-Fitilla is sometimes confused NANA MEDINA, but, although the songs are the same, the attributes are different. She gives any illness, her proper sacrifice being grey speckled fowls. At the dance, she beats her face, chest, and body, and tries to tear her clothes.

JA GAUDE (40) was said by one man to be the elder brother of Yerima, though for some reason not holding so high a rank, but the general view is that he is a relative of Ba-Toye, and, although said not to be connected with fire, his characteristics are very similar to those of that pagan spirit, as he climbs and roars. Perhaps he was once a Mohammedan counterpart. He is a friend of Mallams Dan Kalgo and Duwatsu. At the dance, he moves around, then throws his hands alternately into the air and draws them down, and moves his feet as if climbing. He gives chest complaints (? pneumonia after



39



40

39.—Mai-Fitilla, the Spirit of the Lamp, is seen on the left. Next comes Magajiya or Uwal Yara, then Yar Maso, drawing her knife across her throat, and then Risana, one of the spirits which give itch.

40.—Ja Gaude is in the centre, while to the left and right respectively are Mallam Dan Kalgo, who gives rheumatism, and Zakuwa, the bori of chest complaints.

burning), the proper sacrifice being fowls of any colour other than black. He is supposed to do the *ji'a* (jump) forty times (three is the number for others), just to show how strong he is—possibly because fire jumps from one tree to another.

His song is :

“ Roar, you roar, O Follower of Ali,
O Laughing One with [however] an evil countenance,
roar [for he smiles while plotting evil].
Snatcher of the insides of cattle [referring to his ungovernable rage], roar,
Roar, Ja Gaude, You, you roar, O Strong One,
Follower of Ali.”

Next comes DAFO or SARIKIN MAKADDA, the chief of the drummers, who naturally supervises the bori musicians, possibly an ancestor. He injures his victims' arms, thus preventing them from playing (? cramp), but fortunately any fowls available may be offered as a sacrifice. When he comes to the dance, he makes the usual movements, and then hops round, playing upon his left breast with his right hand, and making as if altering the tone with his left.

His kirari is :

“ I am the chief of the drummers, I drum for the youths,
I drum for the elders.”

His song is :

“ O Drum come here, O Drum come here,
O Drum come here [Son] of Miriam.
Come and enjoy the drumming, [Son] of Miriam.
Chief of the drummers, Dafo, forgiveness we are seeking
[in case those awaiting the summons for their special
spirits may have seemed to be impatient]. •

We know that drumming is difficult, forgiveness we are seeking.

[Son] of Miriam the small drum follows after the father of the drummers.

[Son] of Miriam the hourglass-shaped drum follows after the father of the drummers.

[Son] of Miriam the kettle drum follows after the father of the drummers."

And so on, naming other instruments.

MAI-ASKA (The One with the Razor), or WANZAMI (the Barber) (38) as he is more usually called in Nigeria, is the next, possibly an ancestor. He is the husband of Yar-Maso and Nana Tsamiya—and, according to some, the son of Kuri and Uwar-Dowa, and is the tonsorial expert, scarifier, and circumciser of boriland. He gives his victims baldness, shaving rashes, and slow healing after an operation, the proper sacrifice being a cock and hen coloured black or red in front, on the wings, and along the back, or else red, white, and grey speckled ones. At the dance he comes in with several other attendants upon the Yerima, all of whom he pretends to shave, after his (human) mistress has brought him water. Then the chairs are removed, and all dance, and throw themselves down together. Then they go around the ring upon their knees, stretching out their hands (see Ill. 55), and then they stop and beat their elbows upon the ground until (after the third time) a cloth is thrown between them. The Yerima's chair is then brought back, and, after he has seated himself, Mai-Aska sits on the ground in front, and Bawa, Mai-Bulala, and Sarikin Rafi (if present) stand or sit close behind Yerima. A red cloth is then thrown over the lot, when they sneeze and go.

Mai-Aska's kirari is :

“ [It is] I, O Women, see the barber, blood gushes out.
[It is] I, O Women, see the scarifier, blood gushes out.”

His song is :

“ I do for you the pounding, I do for you the winnowing,
Take the spoon and taste the broth of Doguwa.
O one who stops the cry of the poor, O Barber [he gives presents],
O youths. Oh ! Oh ! You do the shaving for the Son of Zanfara,
Shaver of the people of the world, Shaver,
You are the black stalk of grass in the thatch unable to be pulled out [else the roof will have a hole]
You are the black horse unable to be tied to a post,
You are the dark pit difficult to get out of.
O Youths, Oh ! Oh ! the slave will pay [when he has been operated upon].
Whether within the house the slave will pay,
Or within the entrance-porch the slave will pay.
You are the black beads [worn around the neck] difficult to thread.
Dried monkey-flesh is only for pagans, dog's meat for the heathen.
To-day now, I heard the cry of Mako, I heard the cry of Son Bawa [another of Yerima's suite].
[For] signs of punctuation [come] out, O Women, see the Barber, the chief [if the word scarification were used, the women would be afraid to come].
Whoever has someone who wants a pattern [done].
[Son] of Doguwa, are you, and son of Kuri.”

SAMBO or SARIKIN FILANI (Filani chief) is one of the spirits which look after the masu-sharru, probably an ancestral spirit. He is a younger son of Kuri and Doguwa-Na-Daji, according to most (the husband of the latter, say

some), and gives the same illnesses as his mother (or wife). He wears a leather loin-covering, sometimes his face is covered, and he carries a stick and a whip. At the dance, he beats himself with a whip three times over each shoulder (not with two whips, as does Mai-Bulala), and he looks for his imaginary herds of phantom cattle.

His kirari is :

“ Yo, Yo, Yo.”

His song is :

“ La, la, la, la, Sambo, we are going to tend our herds.
 La, la, la, la, Sambo, we are going to tend our herds.
 Re, re, re, re [a Filani call], we are going to tend our
 herds.
 Young Fulah, Son of His Parent, we are going to tend
 our herds.
 Drink fresh milk, drink sour milk, we are going to tend
 our herds.”

BA-GOBIRI (the man of Gobir) is also known as MAI-KURADA (the One with the Hatchet). He is a slave of Yerima, but himself enslaves people, and, being a warrior, he carries a sword and a spear, as well as his hatchet. His sacrifice is fowls with a yellowish tint in their feathers. At the dance, he poises his spear and thrusts downwards on each side, then he moves round in the usual way, begs, and beats the ground.

His kirari is :

“ I am the slave of the elders of the town.”

His song is :

“ Man of Gobir I like you,
 Both he of the house and he of the forest.
 Though you see him with a bracelet [of gold or silver,
 the badge of a prince],

Though you see him [thus] wait,
 You will find that he is a slave [explaining the first two lines].

Man of Gobir I like you,
 Not because you are a slave.

The man of Gobir, the slave, came to Kano,
 He was in slavery.

O One with the Hatchet, the slave of Daudu (Yerima),

O One with the Hatchet, he cursed me.

O One with the Hatchet, he ruined me.

Is this one one Spirit or many spirits? " [Said in derision, as his actions are not distinctly characteristic since he copies those of several spirits.]

SON-BAWA (Desire for a Slave), said by most to be the same as MAI-KORAIYA (He with the Sharp Bracelets) is a spirit of Zanfara, and is said to have the masu-koraiya and the wrestlers in his care, though there seems to be no special invocation to him in the tests described elsewhere (p. 208). He makes his victim's nose bleed, the proper sacrifice being a brown cock and hen. In some confused way, Son-Bawa is identical with Yerima, and Mai-Koraiya has a separate existence, for it is Yerima who is supposed to be singing the song, the latter having gone to Gwanja with his wife and family for kola-nuts. Another version of the story is that Mai-Koraiya went

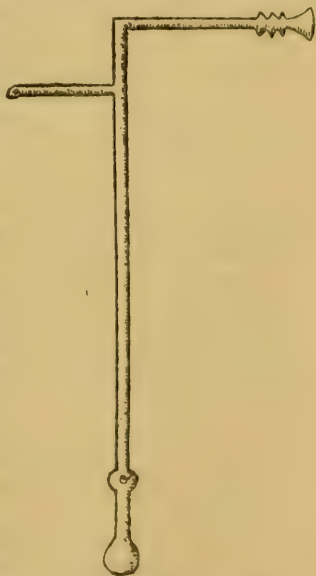


FIG 36.—A Koraiya

alone, leaving his wife without any family or signs of one. On his return three years later, he found her with a child by her side, another at the breast, and another in her womb, so he left her, and it is she who is supposed to be seeking him. At the dance, he holds a peculiar-shaped axe, and after the usual parade, he cuts at each forearm three times with the other hand, then at his forehead, then at his thighs. He is supposed to be cutting down an opponent; he would really guard himself with his left arm, of course. But this, Haj Ali says, was not the original weapon. The proper *koraiya* is a metal two-edged bracelet, in shape like a pulley-wheel. The miniature axe in Tunis (see Fig. 36) resembles a throwing knife in use in the north-east of Nigeria.

His *kirari* is :

“ I am Son-Bawa, see my footprints, see [those] of my dog.”

His song is :

“ Where is the slave ?

He went to Gwanja [the kola-nut centre, north of Ashanti] this year,

With a baby behind, with one in the womb,

And a child walking in front.

Son of the Galladima of Jar Gari,

Where is the slave ?

Stir yourself Mako I have not seen the slave

Shish [*i.e.* move] Monkeys and Birds, I have not seen the slave.

Shish Monkeys and Birds, where is the slave ?

Shish Monkeys and Birds, I have not eaten any kola-nuts
[a great deprivation for a chief].

Stir yourself Mako, I have not seen the slave.

O Birds of Gwanja, where is the slave ?

One who cuts at the forehead, where is the slave ?
Where is the slave, the son of the Prince of Jan Gari ?
He can wrestle, that spirit of Zanfara."

MAI-KURUFU or MAI-BULALA (41) means "The One with the Whip." In some way he looks after the masu-sharru, and yet he is not their patron spirit, for the bush Doguwa and Sambo have them under their special care, as is only natural since they are Fulahs. He whips the young bori at their school in Jan Gari if not diligent, but he also beats human husbands and wives secretly, and they quarrel, each thinking the other is doing it. He also makes his victims scratch their arms, etc., so that they leave long scars like the weals from a whip. His offerings are grey speckled fowls. At the dance he has a hippopotamus-hide whip in each hand, and he flogs his back three times with each across each shoulder alternately, then whips both bulalas over his right shoulder three times, then over his left three times, and then repeats the programme. It is possible that he originated in the representations of the death of Hassan and Husein, in which the characters and attendants cut themselves with swords or flog their bodies until raw.¹

His kirari is :

"I am Bulala, Mai-Kurufu. See me Bulala in the ring."

His song is :

"My life, my life it drives men to the forest [*i.e.* when this bori rides, his mount wishes to run to the bush so as to escape punishment. It also refers to the separation of married couples].

My life, O Whip, Son of a Hippopotamus,
Great Spirit of the people of the world,

My life, O Whip, Owner of the Hippopotamus,
 My life, my life drives men to the forest.
 He wished to marry, he had not even a cowry,
 He began to grumble, he put his head upon his arms.
 I wanted to marry a slave of Magajiya's,
 The Bulala prevented me " [she was afraid of it].

This is the only case which I have come across in which a bori is called *rai* (life), and the people could not tell me why.² There is no reason to suppose that he is more intimately connected with his human victims than any of the other spirits.



FIG. 37.
 The Stick of
 Sarikin Makafi

SARIKIN MAKAFI (Chief of the Blind Men) (60) afflicts his enemies with blindness. At the dance he goes about with a stick, tapping his way along the ground, and a small calabash which he holds out for offerings; he does not jump. The proper stick is shown by Fig. 37, that in Ill. 60 is not for great occasions.

His kirari is :

" Eyes ! Eyes ! who will make me a present of eyes ? "

His song is :

" Behind is darkness, before is darkness [*i.e.* he cannot see in any direction]

Sarikin Makafi has entered.

Tread on the mat of the chief [because he cannot see it, otherwise he would not dare to do so],

Tread on the mat of the poor man [it is all the same to him].



41.—Ba-Dako gives illnesses arising from damp. Mai-Bulala whips husband and wife secretly, thus making them quarrel, while Ma-Dambache, the boxer, makes the arms of his victims stiff.
42.—Ruba and Shaiyu, two doubtful Tripoli bori.

Open your eyes O Mallam of the Chief [a blind man is supposed to be very cunning].

Open your eyes [but] you cannot see."

BA-DAKO (in Hausaland BA-DAKUWA) (41) is a younger brother of Sarikin Rafi, but, as a contrast, he is a great warrior, being entrusted with the care of the rear or flank-guards in the bori wars. He gives the same illnesses as his brother, but the proper sacrifices are fowls coloured black or white, or variegated like a guinea-fowl. I rather fancy that he is confused in some way with the rainbow, but he is not the same as Gajjimare. At the dance, he is very careful of his appearance, for after the usual parade, he takes out a looking-glass and rubs his face, etc., in order to titivate himself up, and so attract human mistresses.

His kirari is :

"I am Ba-Dako the Prince, I am Ba-Dako the Relative of Sarikin Rafi, I am Ba-Dako the Relative of Gozo."

His song is :

"Welcome to him Ba-Dako.

What shall we say? You have quilted armour.

Ba-Dako come quickly,

I follow the Owner of the Heavens, I follow you,

Ba-Dako go ahead.

Ba-Dako, Relative of Rafi, with you I go ahead.

Ba-Dako come quickly.

Ba-Dako, Relative of Gozo, with you I go ahead.

Ba-Dako go ahead.

Ba-Dako, I follow God, I follow you."

MA-DAMBACHE (41) is the boxer. He is a slave of the Yerima, so the latter will not stay in the ring with him. He looks after the human boxers, though, again, he is not

necessarily their patron-spirit. He gives rheumatism in the arms, but yellowish fowls will propitiate him. At the dance, he challenges imaginary rivals, and goes through the actions of boxing, the thumb of the hand to be bound being placed between the first and second fingers.

His kirari is :

“ I am the slave of Yerima [but] I am more proud than the Yerima, whoever has any boxers let him bring them out, here is the ring.”

Another is :

“ I am the Rock-Jerboa, unless a man has dug a hole [for himself] I will find his hiding place.”

His song is :

“ You are the Yerima's dodo [or doshiro, boxer]

God is true, the Prophet is true.

You are greater than Yerima in the ring [yet] you are Yerima's slave.

You are the Yerima's slave, his slave voluntarily [one who has not been bought, but has put himself under his protection].

If I knew who was going to the water I should take a pot.

If I knew who was going to the farm I should take wood.

The promise of a new moon is seventeen days [of light].

My fault with the camel [was in not] going slowly [for he tried to ride it fast like a horse and ruined it].

You are the Yerima's boxer.

God is true, the Prophet is true.

When she is in the house she is the wife of the Yerima [only because she is under observation]

When she has come outside she is the wife of Ma-Dambache.” [This refers to one of the wives of Yerima who is carrying on an intrigue with this spirit.]

RISANA (39) is one of the wives of Kuri. She gives her victims irritation in certain parts (? dhobi itch), the proper sacrifice being fowls, blue or black, or of the same colour as those of Kuri. At the dance, she moves around, bites her hands, rubs her chest, scratches herself, sits down, tries to tear her clothes like Magajiya, yells, and then does the three jumps, sneezes and goes.

Her kirari is :

“ I Risana have come, see me Risana in the ring.”

Her song is :

“ O Risana, Wife of Kuri, O Risana Wife of Kuri,
You Risana what are you searching for ?
Risana whom has she seized ?
O Risana, Wife of Kuri,
Our Mother whom has she seized ? ”

She, like other female bori, looks around for the human mistresses of her spirit husband so as to punish them. If she catches the souls of any of them, she becomes silent at once, and the onlookers become anxious, and wonder whose it can be, for there may be no signs at once.

The next is YAR-MASO (Daughter of the Knife) or YAR-SARIKIN PAWA (39). She is the daughter of the Chief Butcher (the head of the market) as her second name indicates, and a wife of Mai-Aska. She can give any illness. When she arrives at the dance, she drives all but her own relatives from the ring, for she is very quarrelsome, and most unfriendly to strange bori. On her announcing herself, therefore, the others draw quickly to one side.

Her kirari is :

“ I am the Daughter of the Knife, I am the Daughter of the Chief Butcher, let me kill, let me drink blood, let me eat flesh.”

I was unable to obtain the song.

Another itch spirit is NANA AYESHA BABA, who behaves in a similar manner.

Her song is :

“ O she who seeks men by crying, Nana Ayesha [*i.e.* she wants them, and if they don't come to her, she cries.

But she does not wish to be married lest her husband later on should have another and younger wife].

O she who seeks men by crying but does not want a rival wife.

She does not want a rival wife. You would see punching ” [*i.e.* she would hit her].

RUBA (42), SHAIYU (42), and SAINYA, all males, are indefinite spirits of whom but little seems to be known, except that Shaiyu has a very bad character in Jan Gari, but they can give any illness, and any fowls will propitiate them. At the dance, they move forwards and backwards in the ring, but there are no characteristic movements so far as I could see.

Their songs are :

“ Your good will I am seeking,
Verily not riches.
Your good will I am seeking.
If you like me I like you,
Even though you do not give me anything.
Where is Ruba ? He has gone on ahead.”

and

“ Go yourself, do not send a substitute.
Going yourself is [the work of] a sherif (descendant of the Prophet, and so great man).
Shaiyu, the immoral Spirit.”

and

“ Sainya, Sainya, see him.
Sainya welcome to you.”

Then comes a group of female spirits, all three of which are trees, and, I suppose, at one time were totems, though not known as such nowadays, I am told. NANA DURIMI (the Lady Ficus) makes her victims listless (? through their having sat under it), the proper sacrifice being dry-grass-coloured fowls. At the dance, she moves around waving a cloth, jumps, sneezes, and goes.

Her kirari is :

“ I Durimi, the giver of cold, I Durimi have come.
I Durimi from Jan Gari, if I like.”

The song is the same, except for the simple alteration of the pronouns. The meaning is that whoever sits under the ficus she makes feel cold if she wishes to do so.

NANA CHEDIYA (Lady Ficus—another species) makes the eyelashes turn into the eyes and so have to be pulled out. In other respects she is similar to Nana Durimi.

Lastly comes NANA TSAMIYA (Lady Tamarind). She was a wife of Mai-Aska, but they quarrelled through her jealousy, and then he drove her out of his house. She can give her victims any illness, the proper sacrifice being fowls of the same colour as a hawk.

Her kirari and song are :

“ Alas for me [it is upon] my own head [*i.e.* it is my own fault],
Kuri's son has gone and left me.”

CHAPTER XXIII

BORI—THE BLACK SPIRITS

THE next spirits to be considered are the BABBAKU or "Black Ones," all of which either farm or hunt in the forest, and are no doubt either pagan nature-gods or else ancestral spirits. Strangely enough, the chief of these is not KURI, but DAKAKI (Crawler), or, as he is better known in Hausaland, MAI-JA-CHIKKI (The Drawer along of The Stomach)—*i.e.* the snake. He it is who, when the bori are released, comes out first and sweeps their playground. He gives any illness, the proper offering being four calabashes of milk and four eggs, placed alternately in a circle, though a sacrifice of a red cock with a black breast and a grey hen is made on important occasions. "If you leave the eggs and milk for three days in the gidan tsafi you will find the milk drunk and the egg-shells empty, a tiny hole having been pierced in each." At the same time, Dakaki is very fond of blood, and is one of the first to drink that which has run from the sacrificed animal.

At the dance, he crawls, or rather pulls his body along the ground, raising his head now and then to look around, but the other Masu-Bori put their hands before his eyes when he does this, for if he were to see any of the onlookers he might become angry, and kill them with a glance. He thus appears to be the personification of the evil eye. Should any of his followers wish to consult him, his head and that of the questioner are covered with a black cloth so as to bring them together. When it is time to go, he is

shown the hole in a drum, and, thinking it to be a hollow tree, he sneezes and goes inside—leaving the visible human mount in the ring, of course.

He has no kirari, for “he has no mouth”—*i.e.* he cannot speak.

His song is :

“ O Snake, what do you say ?

O Wizard of the Night, what do you say ?

O Bori Dancers, you have bad medicines.

The Drawer along of The Stomach is having his day.

This night [there are] wizards of the night in plenty,

The Drawer along of The Stomach is having his day,

See a spirit without feet,

The Drawer along of The Stomach is having his day.

This night the bearded ones [*i.e.* hooded ones] of night
are in plenty,

The Drawer along of The Stomach is having his day.

O Crawling Bori, what do you say ?

The Drawer along of The Stomach is having his day.

This night those which go *shish* are in plenty [*i.e.* those
things which make a noise like *shish*—*e.g.* snakes].

The Drawer along of The Stomach is having his day.

Mounts of The Spirits, bind on your kamarbands [to be
able to dance the better],

The Drawer along of The Stomach is having his day.

Hey ! Crawler, Snake, he [your intended victim] is in
front not behind [*i.e.* the singers are trying to divert
the snake's attention from someone in the audience].

He is in front, O Red Eyed One. See we have an evil
guest.

Where is the fun of laughing ? Whoever may laugh
[at you], I shall not do so.

Hey, Crawler, Hey, Crawler, mounting at night is not
for you,

By day we like you to mount so that everyone can see
you ” [and avoid your evil eye].

Next comes KURI, YERRO, or YANDU (the Filani name) (44), the husband of Doguwa, Risana, and others. At one time, in all probability, he was the chief spirit of the pagans, for he can give charms for everything, and is

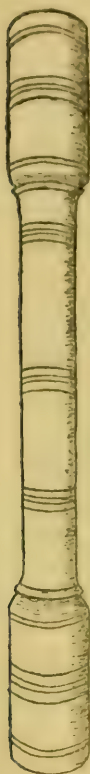


FIG. 38.—Kuri's Pestle with which he beats himself



FIG. 39.—Kuri's Club



FIG. 40.—Kuri's Throwing-stick

responsible for boxing and other sports. Kuri's universal prescription is composed of pieces of the roots of the *Jibda Kassa*, the *Uwal Magunguna*, the *Sabara*, the *Aduwa*, the *Gamji*, the *Tumfafiya*, the *Kalgo*, the *Magariya*, the *Nonon*



43.—Mai-Ja'Chikki, the essence of the evil eye, is crawling on the right. Dan Jigo stands above. To the left is Gindema, a highway robber and Spirit of Fire. Jigo (who gives shivering fits) is waiting in ambush, while Arni, a spirit of drunkenness, is drinking.

44.—Jato is a disreputable spirit. Kuri was the chief god of the pagan Hausas. Jam Maraki is a drunkard, while Sarikin Bakka is chief of the Hunting Spirits. Kuri and Jam Maraki give any illness, the other two drive their victims mad.

Kurichiya, and the *Sabri*, the bark of the *Madowachi*, and the blossoms of the *Sabara* and the *Kainya*, These are powdered up together, and may be used as an incense, a drink, or a lotion—or all together—and, in the last resort, as snuff.

Kuri has very long black negro hair, a moustache, and a beard, and he wears a leather loin-covering, while in his hands he carries a curved throwing-stick or a pestle. The decorations on the former are worth noting as they are said to be eyes, and perhaps correspond to the eyes in the wings of Christian pictures of Lucifer, also the markings upon certain snakes. Kuri is not cannibalistic, so does not drink anyone's blood, unless annoyed with him, but he is very fond of dead horses—a Ba-Maguje delicacy—(like Kure, the hyena). It is very dangerous to take his name in vain. Twelve years ago, Albaraka, a Gwari of Tripoli, swore by Yandu that he had not been with a certain Arab woman. He had, and he immediately fell down and was unconscious for two hours, when incense brought him round. Since then, he has always carried a stick like Kuri's to show that he believes in this bori. The proper sacrifice is a red cock and a white hen, and he is one of those who drink the blood of the victim at the dance. After this, he is brought into the ring, where he jumps about by placing his left hand on his left knee, his right hand and his right knee being upon the ground. On reaching the drummers, he changes knees, and after this he hops upon both, later on pulling with his hands in the air as if climbing, after which he beats the ground three times with each elbow. Then he stands and waves his arms, tucks both loose corners of a short body-cloth into his belt, and kneels and mutely begs for his wooden pestle. On this having been brought, he beats his chest

with it three times, then his head, and then his sides, and again dances around the ring. Finally, he beats himself as before, sneezes, and goes off lame.

His kirari is simply :

“ Ta, ta, ta, ta, ta.”

His song is :

“ The Thunderer with the spear, he roars,
 He shakes his hair, the pagan cannot cope with Kuri.
 Whoever stays until night at the door of the Council
 he will meet with Kuri,
 The One with The Club is my father but not the husband
 of my mother [*i.e.* he is called father by all].
 Take up some earth and throw it in your eye [in the eye
 of your mount ; who is given ashes which he throws
 over himself—a native salutation],
 So that your mount will look well.
 Answer O One with The Club, O Splendid Dancer,
 Answer O One with The Club, You with the short
 throwing-spear.
 If the One with the spear roars
 He does not know whether it is day or night [for he has
 become possessed ; nere, too, reference is made to the
 mount].
 O Hairy One, open Doguwa's door for me, Yerro, Kuri
 with the spear [*i.e.* act as mediator. This is the line
 given with the music in Chapter XVII.].
 A white hen and a red cock [have been offered].
 Everyone is late.”

DOGUWA is a somewhat incomprehensible spirit, for she is double, but the two halves are different. DOGUWA NA GIDA (Doguwa of the House—*ta* would be more correct) (45), the part which lives in the town, is often called MAI-INNA (The Mother, and under this name is sometimes said to be the wife of Gajere Mai-Dowa), while DOGUWA

NA DAJI (Doguwa of the Bush) 46) is also known as UWAR-DOWA (Mother of the Forest), and MAI-GIDA BIYU (Owner of Two Houses). Each part of her is a wife of Kuri—though the bush half is sometimes said to have Sambo as her husband—and she is called the mother of all the Masu-Bori. With her, too, is confused Uwar-Gwona or Uwar-Dawa, though in this manifestation she is the wife of Magiro. Doguwa of the House is a Hausa spirit, very fond of combing her hair, and she looks after the boxers, wrestlers, and those who fight with the koraiya. In some ways she symbolises death, so that may be the reason of this patronage. She wears black cloths, and the sacrifice to her is a black cock and hen, or, according to some, the same as that of Kuri. She will paralyse the limbs, or blind, or at least make sore, the eyes of any person who offends her. Doguwa of the Bush is only a half-woman, though a very tall one (perhaps the giantess in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, Story No. 100), and she can cause human enemies to become like her. She is a Fulah and the protecting spirit of the Masu-Sharru. She wears white clothes—or none at all, according to another informant, her hair being long enough to hide her nakedness—and the proper sacrifice is a white cock and hen, or a white hen with black beak and legs.

At the dance, the former lies upon her side, and rocks herself backwards and forwards while one Mai-Bori behind and another in front flap a cloth which is laid over her. If a Fulah wishes to consult her, he gets under the cloth. She swells up, and then one of the attendant Masu-Bori places his left hand upon her navel, his right hand under her head, and raises her up to a sitting position, when she immediately becomes Na Dowa. The latter sits up under a cloth, and goes through the movements of milking.

A photograph of Abyssinian women eating covered on account of their fear of the evil eye greatly resembles Ill. 46.¹ Some say that the spirit of the bush should be under a black sheet, others say that even Doguwa Na Gida may have a black sheet, and in another performance a black sheet was used for both, so there seems to be no significance in the colour. In neither case can the face be exposed without great danger to the onlookers.

The kirari is :

“ Yo, Yo, Yo, Yo.”

The Hausa spirit's song is as follows :

“ Leave off plotting, Doguwa.

Leave off plotting, Doguwa.

[This is the line given with the music in Chapter XVII.].

With her white cloth she has come.

Our Mother, Wife of Yerro, Our Mother, whom has she caught ?

Whomsoever she seizes, he will lose his hand.

Whomsoever she seizes, he will lose his feet [her particular punishments].

Leave off plotting, Doguwa, Our Mother, Wife of Kuri, Our Mother, Mother of Us [supposed to be the meaning of *Yeme ye moma*, which words my informant said were Kanuri, a language which he did not speak].

Adamari, Wife of Yerro, leave off plotting Doguwa,

Leave off plotting, Doguwa, the shouter,

Warri jam baruntun Beriberi [? more Kanuri] come,

Men of Kano, Carriers of Potash.

Leave off plotting, Doguwa, Wife of Kuri,

Our Mother, Mother of Us,

Praise to God and his Prophet,

Chief of Risana, Wife of Kuri [Doguwa, being the first married, is the head wife].

Chief of Risana are you, O Doguwa,

Doguwa, Wife of Kuri.”



45 and 46.—Doguwa of the City and Doguwa of the Bush. A double spirit, wife of Kuri, which paralyses and blinds people.

The song of the Bush spirit is :

“ O Wife of Yerro, Wife of Kuri,
Enter quickly. Great is our mother,
To-day [she] goes to the bush,
[The wife] of Kuri, the wearer of the small cloth.
Let us go home and drink sour milk [she looks after
cattle],
To-day we shall not rest.
If Bujaji [a Fulah name for Doguwa] seizes [us]
To-day we shall have no sleep.
[If] the mother of our house seizes [us]
To-day we shall not rest.”

Strangely enough, very little seems to be known about UWAL-GWONA in North Africa, although she is of such high rank. The reason is, so I was told, that the Hausas, having no farms, have no occasion to seek her good offices, but if that reason were always acted upon, a good many of the other spirits would be abandoned also. However, she appears only once a year here, and nothing more could be found out about her than has been related in Chapter XIV. I think, however, that she is really another manifestation of Doguwa, although said by some to be a wife of Magiro, for it is almost certain that since wrestling is a rite for increasing the crops, she would be the patron of the wrestlers.

According to some, MAI-GIZZO (He with the hair) is the same as Kuri, but others say that they are separate spirits. MAI-GIZZO also is a farmer, wears a leather loin-covering, and carries a walking-stick.

His song is :

“ Mai-Gizzo what is the news ?
Shake your hair.
[You are the husband] of Doguwa, Yerro, or is it not you ?

Where is Doguwa, O Kuri with the club?
 Mai-Gizzo, God made you,
 Not man."

JAM MARAKI (the white *Maraki*, a tree) (44) comes next, a pagan spirit and a drunkard—probably an ancestor.



FIG. 41.—The Throwing-stick of
 Jam Maraki

He can give any illness, the proper sacrifice being red fowls. At the dance, he jumps about on his knees in the same manner as does Kuri, but instead of carrying a pestle, he has a club.

His kirari is :

" Ah, Ah, Ah, I am Arni,
 Ah, Ah, Ah, I am Arni."

His song is :

" This heathen is a great
 bogey, one who smokes
 tobacco.

When he has drunk water
 [meaning beer] he pro-
 trudes his lips, he makes
 [*i.e.* opens his mouth like]
 a crow.

He it is, is it not he, the
 strong one?

This heathen is a great
 bogey, he stumbles about.

When he has drunk water he protrudes his lips and rolls
 his tongue.

Pagan, I am for you, Jam Maraki,
 See, your father has come [this to the spectators].

Come and drink beer and drink fresh milk,
Pagan, I am for you.
You have eyes as red as a tomato [from drink].
You are a great spirit and yet you behave like a boy."
[The height of disdain.]

ARNI (Pagan) or SARIKIN NOMA (Chief of the Farmers, (43), is a Gwari spirit—another ancestor. He can give his victims any illness, but is propitiated with fowls of any colour. At the dance, he walks around, then calls for beer, and after he has drunk it, gets drunk, sneezes, and goes off.

His song is :

"To-day Arni has drunk millet [beer], the bogey, Arni.
You have eaten the millet [flour], Bogey Arni, you have
eaten the millet [flour] which has been brought.
You and Ta-Roro [a name meaning " (born) during the
grubbing "], have eaten the millet which has been
brought.
You and Ta-Noma [" (born) during the farming "] have
eaten the millet which has been brought,
You and Fudan [" (born) during the digging "] have
eaten the millet which has been brought."

The singers continue the song with other names until he leaves the ring.

BA-MAGUJE (Pagan Hausa) is sometimes classed as a hunter, but he seems to be more a farmer, and as his name follows Arni on the list, he had better come here. He is certainly the spirit of some convivial ancestor. He wears a leather loin-covering and a bull's hide over his shoulders, while he carries a club and an axe. The proper sacrifice is a red and white cock and hen, though some say that it should always be a goat, never fowls. At the dance, he also drinks and becomes drunk, and then rolls about.

His kirari is :

" I am an elder, I am a youth. When I drink fura [flour and water, but here meaning beer] I pout my lips like a crow. I have had my wife, I have eaten my fill."

His song is :

" Son of Ta-Rana, you are an elder, you are a youth
[i.e. old but foolish],
Pagan great bogey, Tobacco Smoker,
The chief has let us off. We shall not pay again, we
shall go to the bad."

The last line is said to refer to an event of history in Nigeria, where the chief of a certain district, seeing that they would do nothing but drink, let them off with their taxes.

In Tripoli, there are many spirits of this kind, and they are said to give their victims a thirst and other evil effects of drunkenness. At the dance, a number appear together, and sit down in a ring, laugh foolishly, let saliva run over their clothes, and then fall about, finally being helped out of the ring by Masu-Bori not being ridden at the moment. Since bori and wild animals were evidently connected in the Hausa mind, it is not at all inappropriate to say that these particular spirits are " beastly drunk."

MAI-GANGADDI (The Nodding One) or SARIKIN BARCHI (King—should be Queen—of Sleep—because nearly always a female) (48) gives her victims sleeping-sickness. At the dance, she suddenly dozes off in the middle of some act. She does not dance around, but simply sits down and begins to spin, but soon lets her head fall upon one side or the other, waking up again for an instant when touched or spoken to by other Masu-Bori. Apparently



47.—Spirits of Drunkenness at Tripoli.
 48.—Ba-Toye, the Fire Bori; Sarikin Kofa, the Leper, and Mai Gan-
 gaddi, the Spirit of Sleeping-Sickness.

she will never leave the ring of her own free will (or perhaps she has not the energy to do so), so when it is time for her to go, a thread of cotton is held out to her, and seeing this she sneezes and departs.

Her song is :

“Complete the town [*i.e.* buck up] Gangaddi. She prevents my spinning, [does] Gangaddi,
She prevents my sitting properly. See she is sleepy,
She prevents my spinning.
Look, your rival wife is coming, sit up and spin
Lest your husband drive you away.”

The above is somewhat difficult to follow. It is sung by the musicians, of course, the first three lines describing the spirit, the last two being a friendly warning to her—an unusual form.

BIDDA is a bad spirit. When he seizes anyone whom he does not like, he makes his body quite stiff “by putting a piece of iron in it which reaches from the navel to the neck” (presumably rigors). At the dance, the doki lies down and becomes rigid, and then various instruments, drum, violin, and gimbiri are placed upon his body from the chest to the stomach, and the musicians play these hard until the mount makes as if to vomit. Bidda then departs, his place being taken immediately by another bori.

Next come BABAM MAZZA (Great One of Men) (50) and KUGARA (The Rubber) (50), who are similar, for both give any illness, chiefly loss of power in the legs. At the dance they arrive together, and each one lies upon his back, raises himself upon his hands and feet and moves about thus, bumping his buttocks upon the ground, being covered with a black cloth. A wooden mortar ought then to be

placed upon the stomach, and pounded, if not, each kneels and beats himself with a pestle.

The only part of the song which I could obtain is :

“ Babam Mazza [Son] of Ayesha,
Kugara, The One with The Pestle ” [he beats his stomach with it].

Then comes TAIKI (? The Bag) (49). If he attacks a person, the stomach of the victim will swell, and, if not stopped, will burst. The only remedy is to beat lightly upon the stomach with iron implements, for the spirit, not liking this metal, will then go. The proper sacrifice is a pair of black fowls. At the dance, he lies down and rolls from side to side, then lying still upon his back. His stomach soon begins to swell, and it is treated as described, whereupon he heaves a deep breath, and sneezes, and departs. This may be the same spirit as Mai-Jan-Ruwa noted in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, though the procedure is somewhat different.

GAJJIMARE (49) ² is in shape something like a snake but is hermaphrodite, or at least double gendered, the male part being red, the female blue, and it is said by some to be the father of Uwar-Dowa. It lives in wells, and comes out of them when it wants to drink up the water (hence its name, Ma-Sha-Ruwa), thence going over the sky and down into an ant-hill. It makes its victims incapable of sitting up (? paralysis of the back). It is a Daura spirit, and is said in Tunis not to be related to Kuri. If water is left in a house, it will take it and be satisfied, otherwise it will steal money. At the dance, it stands quite still until censed, and then falls on its back, and is covered with a black cloth, and rolls to and fro, calling for water, and,



49



50

49.—When Taiki attacks people their abdomens must be beaten with iron. Gajjimare (also lying down, covered) is the Rainbow, while Dundurusu and Makeri are Bori Blacksmiths.

50.—Rinna the Hornet. Babam Mazza and Kugara cause their victims to lose their power over their legs.

when this has been brought, it sneezes and goes. It does not dance or jump.

The song is :

“ Bogey Gajjimare, Drinker of The Water, Gajjimare.
He drinks water [does] Gajjimare, he drinks water,
He breaks small stones, even rocks, [does] this water
spirit.”

SAMAYI, RAKO, and KUMO, all males, are but little known bori, and are not worshipped in North Africa now, so far as I know. Samayi gives his victims rigors, and, at the dance, he stands stiffly, his arms held by his sides, and his fists clenched, until a black cloth has been thrown over him, when he goes.

Rako seems to give the weakness and loss of power due to old age, the proper sacrifice being fowls of a yellowish colour. At the dance, he shouts “ Oh,” shakes his head, and then sits down and nods.

Kumo distorts the bodies of his victims. At the dance, he coughs and grunts as if old, and then sits down, and bends over to one side, holding himself in this position until he goes. None of these three does the *jifa*.

WURUWA, sister of Nana Arzikki Boboniya, gives her victims stiff backs, the proper sacrifice being a black hen. At the dance, she puts her hand behind her as if settling the baby upon her back, and then pushes upwards. I could not obtain her song.

MARMARA, another female, is a friend of DAKAKI. She makes the whole body of her victim stiff, the proper sacrifice being a red cock with a black chest, and a greyish hen. At the dance, she lies out stiffly like Taiki, but is

not covered with a black cloth. She then calls for water, drinks, sneezes, and goes. Her song is :

“ Marmara is seen,
She is like a stone, the spirit of the water ” [*i.e.* she lies like a stone].

KWORROM is very well known to travellers, for he lives under the roots of trees which grow across the road, and makes passers-by stumble. But he also gives victims continual movement (? St Vitus's dance), and diarrhœa. At the dance, he falls upon his face, and afterwards lies upon his back, and then turns over with his legs above his head.

His song is :

“ Boys stop coming for wood [he does not want them to taek it].

Kworrom has seized someone,
The Bender of The Buttocks, Giver of Diarrhœa.”

CHAPTER XXIV

BORI—THE BLACK SPIRITS (*continued*)

THE next spirits to be considered are the hunters, also Babbaku. All of these are pagans and live in the bush, and all wear leather loin-coverings and capes, while as weapons they carry a bow and arrows, perhaps, also a spear.

The chief one is the SARIKIN BAKKA (Chief of The Bow) (44), and he is often said to be the same as Gajere Mai-Dowa, but as some informants said that they were distinct spirits, it will be as well to keep them separate. Sarikin Bakka has another name, ALI. He takes care of all the beasts of the forest, so sacrifices of a red cock and a white hen are offered to him before a hunt (see Chapter XV.). He makes his victims prick themselves, or drives them mad.

At the dance, he wags his buttocks, jumping up and down, and then takes a miniature bow and arrow—or else places his left thumb between the first finger and thumb of the right hand, holding it out in front of him, and moves about cautiously as if looking for game.

His song is :

“ To-day Sarikin Bakka [comes] without delay,
He has killed the roan antelope, he has killed the oribi,
Even the antelope he has not left.
He made a farm at the edge of the bush
But the jerboa would not let him alone [it stole all his
corn].

Ali—O is the father of many [*i.e.* of all the hunters]

Ali—O is the chief of the bowmen."

The description of Sarikin Bakka answers for GAJERE MAI-DOWA (Dwarf of the Forest), also, in most respects, the dances are the same. He is the son of Jigo, but is a greater hunter than his father. The proper sacrifice is any dwarfed fowls.

His kirari is :

" I am Gajere, my father is Jigo."

His song is :

" Gajere Mai-Dowa, Gajere,
Gajere Mai-Dowa, Gajere,
Where did you shoot it Gajere ?
In the pupil of the eye Gajere ?
The hartebeeste you shot Gajere,
In the pupil of the eye, Gajere."

And so on, naming different animals, until he has left the ring.

JIGO or JIHU (43) is much the same as Gajere Mai-Dowa, but he sits and moves like an old man ; he is the "father" of the hunters, and was once their chief. He gives his victims shivering fits and fever, and pricks them—probably the feeling of the perspiration just before it commences. In the photograph he is lying in ambush, waiting for game. The proper sacrifice is a guinea-fowl, or fowls coloured like it. At the dance, he appears to hunt like the others.

His song is :

" My Father, Jigo, blessings upon your coming, [This is the line given with the music in Chapter XVII.]
The Old One, he eats only the liver [because he has no teeth with which to chew solid meat].

O, Dwarf, Father of The Hunters,
Blessings upon your sleep, blessings upon your coming,
Hail, My Father, Father of The Hunters.
If the elephant is in the forest [and meets you],
She will say ' This thing is not good for us ' [*i.e.* this spirit will kill us].
If the buffalo is in the forest [and meets you]
She will say ' This thing is not good for one's health.'
O, Stranger, Angel of the Forest [because he knows it all],
Let us go back to the bush and set an ambush."

DAN JIGO (43) does not come next in order of seniority, but it will be better to complete the list of hunters before considering another class, though it must be remembered that every pagan (and therefore every black spirit) is a hunter at one time and a farmer at another, the hoe being converted into arrow-heads, or vice versa, as occasion demands. Dan Jigo, son of the last named, dances in the same way at first, but he will seize any calabashes, pottery, etc., and break them if he can. This is symbolic of the illness which he gives his victims, for he also makes them shiver.

His kirari is :

" Smash, smash, smash, where younger brothers are sold there also can they be bought " [*i.e.* nothing is too valuable for him to destroy].

His song is :

" Dan Jigo, Maker of Orphans [for he kills the parent beasts],
Dan Jigo, to-morrow [let us go to] the bush.
Dan Jigo, Maker of Poverty [he shoots cattle belonging to the Filani].
Dan Jigo, let us go to the Bush."

MAHALBIYA (Markswoman) is a daughter of Jigo, and therefore a sister of the last named spirit. "If you shake your clothes, etc., at night she will shoot you, but she sleeps in the daytime, so you can then shake them in safety"—because the person can then see what he is doing perhaps. Her arrow makes a small sore, which will grow bigger and deeper if scratched, but any fowls will do for a sacrifice. I could not obtain her song; her actions were said to be much the same as those of Jigo.

Why RINNA (Hornet) (50) should be a huntress is not quite clear at first sight, but she is a younger sister of Sarikin Bakka, and hunts with him, and she is said to sting and kill her prey. She thus requires no weapons at the dance, and all she does in addition to the usual parade and jumping is to sit down and beat her face first on one side and then on the other, and flap her elbows upon her sides to imitate the movement of wings.

Her song is :

"There's a hornet, there's a hornet, there's a hornet in the forest,
She has killed the roan antelope, she has killed the oribi.
There's a hornet, there's a hornet, there's a hornet in the forest,
She has killed the elephant, she has killed the oribi.
There's a hornet, there's a hornet, there's a hornet in the forest.
She has killed the hyæna, she has killed the oribi."

And so on, naming different animals.

GINDEMA (43), ARI (possibly the same), and GWEGWE are also hunters occasionally, but all these spirits drive their victims into the forest and injure them there, Gindema varying the pleasure of the legitimate chase with the excite-

ments of the profession of a highway robber. They seem to be Beriberi bori, however, for their songs are in that language, and I am not quite sure of the translation. At the dance, they run up trees and sit there, saying, "I am home." Possibly they are connected with fire like Ba-Toye, but they were described as hunters. The song of the two first is :

" Ali (or Ari) O Ali
Ali the hunter of (?) fish
The tall one with small feet.
Ali the hunter of (?) fish
Chief of the council with gold in his hair."

Gwegwe had only three lines :

" Whence have you come Gwegwe ?
From the inside of a tree have you come ?
Or from the top of a tree have you come ? "

Now follow four spirits who drive people mad, and though exceedingly disgusting to describe, and still more to watch, they cannot be omitted.

JATO is known also as NAKADA (Nodder), JANZIRRI (? a hog), and JA-BA-FARI (Neither Red nor White) (44 and 51). He is half Arab and half negro, and was once a mallam, but too much reading and over-indulgence in forbidden pleasures made him mad, and he is now the dirtiest of all the spirits, usually living in a drain, or the salanga. It is not impossible that he, in one of his avatars, represents the old Egyptian Nakada tribe, but I doubt this, for in the Malays, near the Johol frontier, is a *kramet* (holy place) of Nakhoda Hussin, a jinn presiding over water, rain, and streams.¹ He is the husband of Mariyamu, and a cousin of Yerima. He gives venereal diseases and

fever, and the medicines for them, but if he gets a person entirely into his power, and drives him mad, there is no help for the victim. He gives riches to his true followers (? prostitutes), however, the proper sacrifice being a speckled cock and hen.

At the dance, he sniffs about trying to find some of his particular scent (dung), and if successful he will rub it upon his body, or turn a somersault over it, and even devour it if not forcibly prevented. He afterwards twists part of his tobe in front, holding it like the male organ, and runs around the ring, later on standing in front of the musicians and beating it for having brought him trouble. Some of the attendant Masu-Bori then throw a white cloth over him (this is sometimes omitted, it was not done in Tripoli), and he falls down and simulates copulation, then sneezes and goes. Jato is very much afraid of death, and a white cloth (like a shroud) will always drive him away.

His song is :

“ O Son of a Mallam, Grandson of a Mallam,
Sleeping at the edge of the bush [a woman's private
parts] disturbs me.

O Son of a Mallam, Grandson of a Mallam,
Open the mouth of the vagina and put in your penis,
O Son of a Mallam, Grandson of a Mallam.
Sleeping at the edge of the corn-binn [same meaning]
disturbs me.

Someone has eaten dung, certainly it was not I,
Someone has drunk filth, certainly it was not I.
Oh, I say Nakada, I have no one [to care for me but you].
O Disease, leave me, O Disease release me now,
[For] I have no one.”

Some people object to the above song, and, if there is general disapproval, the following is substituted :

“ Jato, O Jato, Jato the friend of Kuri,
 Jato, O Jato, Jato, the town is astir.
 Jato, O Wizard, Red [white] Madman,
 Leave them [your enemies] to God, I praise you.
 Jato, White One, I praise you.
 Jato, Wizard, let us off to-day.
 O Nakada, let the musicians play on [do not go near
 them—for they run when he brings filth].
 Red One belonging to Mariyamu, O Disease, release me.
 I have no one.
 A good thing is desired by all, a bad one only by the
 owner. [This refers to Mariyamu. No one wants
 her but Jato, for her nose is always running.]
 He goes to the dung-hill and there he plays,
 He eats pumpkins together with weeds.”

RUGE is a brother of Jato, a drunken spirit which gives
 similar diseases. At the dance, he wags his buttocks, etc.,
 like Jato, and dances with him.

His kirari is :

“ Ho, I am the learned fool.”

His song is :

“ Ruge the fool, the foolish mallam,
 Ruge the fool, the One with the mat [upon which he
 prays],
 This man has money [but] he cannot marry
 Because of his penis, which is so large.”

This last line refers to the fact that Ruge is responsible
 not only for the diseases of the genital organs, but also for
 all troubles concerning them. A Gwari in Tunis, known
 as Kumburin Banza, is said to have killed several women
 because Ruge made him swell to such a size. For a
 similar reason, an Arab in Tripoli, Haji Firaj, had to be
 forcibly separated from his wife, who then died.

KWOLLEN KWOLMA or KULEN KULMA is a friend of the above two bori, and his actions are similar. He drives his victims mad through drink.

His song is :

“ Kwollen Kwolma has come.
 You eat dog, you drink beer.
 Kwollen Kwolma the bori.
 If death comes
 I shall get inside a cave, a vagina,
 I and my goats.
 I the son of a mallam, grandson of a mallam,
 Sleeping close to a vagina disturbs me.
 You know that the lips of a woman's parts have more
 soft flesh than the shoulders of a ram.”

DAN WAWA makes his victims become idiots through over-indulgence in sexual acts and drink. He wears a goat's skin, as does Jato, and probably has some connexion with the priestly clown mentioned in Chapter III. His actions and song are the same as those of Jato.

His kirari is :

“ O Girls, a Ba-Maguje is better [for you] than a Mohammedan.”

BABA (59) dances like Jato, whose friend and understudy he is. But he will steal any pots which he can find unless there is incense in them, and, in the photograph, he is looking around furtively to see if anyone is watching him.

His song is :

“ Baba, where is Baba, Baba, where is Baba,
 Where is Jallo, Baba, where is Jallo ?
 Baba, O Baba, Baba await me and I'll come.”

The next spirit is much less unsavoury, although his functions are not particularly noble. BA-TOYE, the



51.—Jato and Kwollen Kwolma, two disreputable Jinns. ♣
 52.—The Parade of the Youthful Spirits.

Burner (48), is the spirit of fire. He is said not to be the fire itself, but the bori which sets the houses and the forest alight, and burns people. He is a son of Gajere and Uwar-Dowa—possibly Gajere was once the same as Kuri, there was great confusion upon this point. He can run very fast, not only along the ground but even up trees—like the flames, I presume. The proper sacrifice is a pair of speckled fowls.

At the dance, he jumps up and down, wagging his buttocks.

His kirari is :

“ I am Ba-Toye, I have burnt the bush of Jan Gari, I have burnt the forest.”

His song is :

“ [See the] Bogey, Children [see the] Bogey. Babies [see the] Bogey.

Whoever has not seen this Bogey has come to [*i.e.* is living upon] the earth without profit.

He will go to the next world without profit. [Possibly alluding to the pagans, who are supposed to have learnt the use of fire only recently.]

The Bogey is one of the hunters, he has burnt the forest of Jan Gari.

[See the] Bogey, Children, [see the] Bogey. Grown-ups, [see the] Bogey,

Son of the Dwarf, the Bogey, the strong one.

Uwar-Dowa bore me, me alone.

I brought upon my mother trouble, much more [am I ready to bring it upon] anyone else.”

In addition to the foregoing, there are several bori which my informants were unable to class, but these seem to be patron-spirits of industries, though they no doubt give their victims the pains brought on by the work. Of

these, the greatest is DUNDURUSU² (Hammer) (49). He is a blacksmith, and does that work for the bori in Jan Gari. He can give any illness, particularly stiff and sore arms and hands, the proper sacrifices being black fowls. At the dance, he kneels down upon both knees, puts his left hand upon the ground, and beats it with the right elbow three times, and then changes hands—this represents the beating of the iron. He then blows and moves his arms upwards and outwards, and downwards and inwards, as if working a bellows, and then beats each hand again.

His kirari is :

“ I am Dundurusu, I do not know [*i.e.* fear] fire.”

His song is :

“ O Dundurusu beside the fire,
The day has broken, you have been all night by the fire.”

Another, much like Dundurusu, is MAKERI or SARIKIN MAKERA (Chief of the Blacksmiths) (49), and according to some he is the same. His actions are similar.

His song is :

“ I do not see my bellows, my bellows are in the house, I
am forging iron.

I do not see my bellows, my bellows are in the house, I
am forging metal.

The sword wielded only by men [is made by you] O One
with the fire in his house,

[With] my bellows, I forge, I beat iron.”

MASAKI (Weaver), can give any illness, but particularly those pains in the arms and legs caused by weaving, the proper sacrifice being speckled fowls. At the dance, he first stands, then sits down and throws his hands inwards

(as if throwing the shuttle), and sometimes he moves his feet up and down.

His song is :

“ O Weaver, weave for the chief, weave,
Take the cotton, take the strip of cloth, take the cotton.
O Weaver, weave for him [the chief] pepper and salt
cloth,
O Weaver, weave for him [the chief] green cloth.”

And so on, naming different kinds and colours of cloth so long as he is in the ring.

MAI-SASSARI is evidently an evil spirit, as he kills his victims. But he is not now danced in North Africa, I believe, for I could find out nothing further about him.

SARIKIN PAWA or SARIKIN YANKA (King of Slaughter) is Chief Butcher of Jan Gari. Although his daughter, Yar Maso, is given amongst the Mohammedans, he is said by most to be still a pagan. At the dance, directly the sacrificial animal has been killed, he is expected to stand up, and to try to cut his throat with a knife (like Yar Maso), calling out “ Blood, blood,” and if a bull has been killed, he is said to sit astride its neck. He is then lifted into the ring, where he moves to and fro, then stands, and cuts at his throat again, calling for blood as before.

His song is :

“ Sarikin Pawa the Flayer, Sarikin Yanka the Flayer.”

CHAPTER XXV

BORI—THE FIGHTING SPIRITS

IN a country which contains so many different tribes, and where almost every town, even when belonging to people speaking the same language, was at enmity with its neighbours, it was only natural for the inhabitants to imagine that every community had its own particular spirits, and that when the worshippers went to war these supernatural beings aided them against the bori of the enemy. In any case, since the bori community is organised upon the same lines as those of the worshippers, it necessarily follows that there should be a special corps of warriors, the YAN GARKE (Children of the Shield), all of whom are renowned in war. Many are fighting jinns of foreign origin, no doubt, but some are almost certainly heroes.

Of these, the chief is JARUMA or GARKE BABA (Great Shield) (53), a Gwari. He gives his victims any illnesses, the proper sacrifices being fowls coloured black and white. At the dance, he waves his spear in his right hand level with his head, and dances around thus. Then he jumps, waves his spear again, and goes.

His song is :

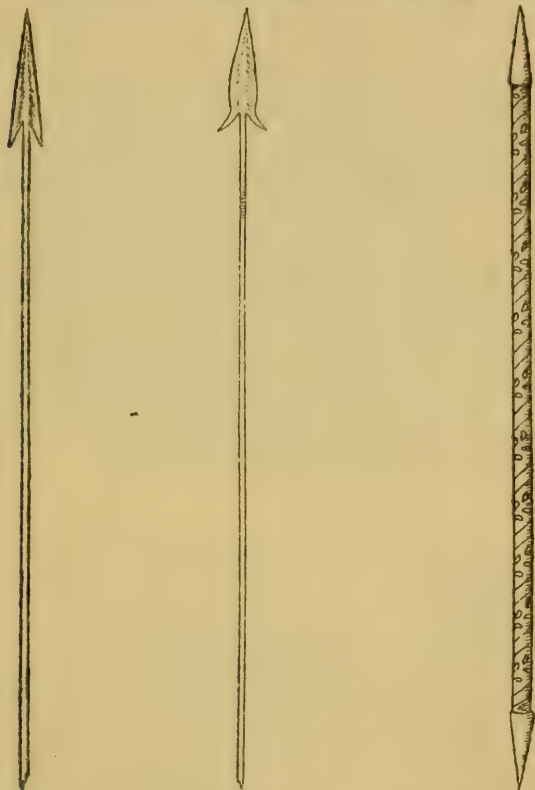
“ Where is Jaruma, the chief’s son ? Where is Jaruma, the chief’s son ?

You followers of the chief, show me the councillors
[but here meaning horsemen whom Jaruma—who is speaking now—will lead].

Where is Jaruma, the chief's son? Where is Jaruma?

He has made night [*i.e.* he is late in coming—because he has been pursuing his enemies]

With his wooden hafted spear, and his iron spear.



FIGS. 42 and 43.—Spears of the Warrior Spirits

FIG. 44.—Jaruma's Spear

Where is Jaruma sleeping, the white man, the killer of men?

O Jaruma, Oh dear, Jaruma, Son of a Chief,
If she has not the pair of twos [of tribal marks]
Give her the pair of fours,
If she has not the pair of fours

Give her the yan takai.
I shall follow Jaruma to Jan Gari
That I may rest from this weary life.
Where is Jaruma? He thrusts
With his wooden hafted spear and his iron spear."

The "pair of twos," etc., refers to the fact that Jaruma captured a pagan slave, and he is advised to make tribal marks upon her face to pretend that she is a Hausa—these would still be tribal marks, however, not the signs of slavery.¹

TSAGGI is a son of Yerima. He gives diseases of the hips and bad eyes—and probably makes people snore—the proper sacrifice being a pair of many-coloured fowls. At the dance, he puts his right foot over his left and then vice versa, meanwhile moving his spear as if on horseback, and piercing enemies underneath him.

His song is :

"Tsaggi—O Tsaggi dances with kola-nuts in his mouth
[a sign of rank].

Tsaggi—the son of Abba dances with kola-nuts in his mouth.

Tsaggi, O Young Men, does not divide [if he has anything he gives it as a present, he does not keep a share].

Tsaggi, O Young Men you must salute this warrior.

Tsaggi, O Young Men, he is enough for the Assembly
[can fight anyone in it].

Here I brought her, a fool,

If you know where your home is, go to it.

You, since you brought me, guide me,

Hear the snoring, see the bad eyes."

The last four lines refer to the fact that Tsaggi brought a woman to his house who did not know what to do, so he



53.—The warriors, Jaruma, Kulita, Sarikin Garke, and Dan Manzo. Kulita prevents women from bearing more children.

54.—Bebe is the deaf mute, Ya Biyu and Kwara at the end are twins. Mai-Chibi is responsible for umbilical hernia. Musai is an Asben spirit and Dan Hasumi gives baldness.

became angry and told her to go home. She said (last line but one) that he ought to take her back, and he then insulted her.

BARAJE is supposed to be the same as SARIKIN GARKE (Chief of the Shield-Wearers) (53), by some ; others say that the spirits are distinct. He too can give any illness, the proper sacrifice being speckled fowls. He plants his spear in the ground, and then puts his right foot over his left and back three times, and then he turns and does the same with his left foot.

His song is :

“ Baraje, welcome, Young Baraje, welcome to the chief, Gird yourself Baraje, gird yourself Baraje.” [The loose clothes are tied in by smaller cloths when going into action and also at the dance.]

Baraje where is my fault, enter the King's house,
Son of a Dwarf where is my fault Baraje, where is my fault ?

Give her a spindle [sit down with her and weave] and you will enjoy conversation.

The butcher's daughter is very nice. [He is the lover of Yar Maso].

Give her money and you will enjoy cuddling.

The young Filani is very nice.

O One with The White Horse, with The White Tobe,
You are the one who does a good turn.

O One with The Black Horse, with the Black Tobe,
You are the one who does a bad turn.”

The last part refers to the fact that if you want to have foretold the result of some venture, you summon the bori by his proper sacrifice and incense, and on his arrival you throw in a lot more incense. If you see him in white and mounted on a white horse, you will be fortunate, for he is

going to help you ; if all is black there is no chance of success.

MANZO BABA (The Great Messenger) is a son or nephew of Mariyamu. He can give any illness, the proper sacrifice being a pair of red fowls. At the dance, he puts his hand over his mouth and calls out so as to give an alarm. If he dances with Baraje and Kulita, the three take up calabashes, pots, etc., and having thrown them upon the ground, fall upon them, pounding the broken pieces with their elbows.

His kirari is :

" I am a wizard, I am a wizard, I eat [other] wizards. I am a wizard, my father is a wizard."

His song is :

" Have patience O my Manzo, Manzo, [Son] of Mariyamu, Manzo, Wizard,

Have patience, O my Manzo, the journey is not [to be done in] one day,

Twice seven days have we rested.

Beware, O my Manzo, of worthless women.

Even to him who [often] goes to the city, the women [who ask] a halfpenny are not women [worth having—*i.e.* the cheap prostitutes are certain to have something wrong with them. Manzo does not like paying them more than he can help].

I have not eaten, I have not drunk [*i.e.* I have not seen or heard, so do not accuse me of having said anything about you].

The stick is waiting by the tent [ready to strike].

The spirit upon the bed does not speak, he only roars.

[Many bori are supposed to make at once for a bed upon their arrival.]

Arzikki with the small pot has been spreading false reports,

She has taken them to her lord [Manzo]. The lord, the
gossiper,
He has believed the false reports and has told them to
Lilla [his wife].
Verily Lilla, the hot-tempered one,
Took a stick, and said ' You kill her ' '' [Arzikki].

KULITA, AUTA (Little One), or JA-JA-MAIYA (Attractor of The Great) (53), is one of the spirits of the drummers, apparently those who go with the troops. He is a son or a nephew of Sarikin Rafi, and is very fierce. He is also known as MAI-KAREWAN HAIFUWA (The Finisher of Child-Bearing) as has been explained in Chapter VIII. He, like Manzo Baba and Dan Jigo, causes people to become unable to hold things in their hands, so they drop and break them, the proper sacrifice being a pair of speckled fowls.

It is just possible that this breaking of calabashes, etc., had quite a different meaning at one time, for the Jews of Galicia break a pot or dish in front of a child to drive away the demon of convulsions, and Arabs sometimes break one behind the back of a person whom they fear. Perhaps there is some connexion also in the Levitical laws laying down that earthenware vessels made unclean are to be broken.²

At the dance, he kneels and beats the ground with his fists, after which he stands up. A cloth is then put upon his shoulders, and he walks around, pulling it off (because he is so hot) and putting it on again. After a time he asks for plates, etc., and breaks them upon his head. Then, balancing his body as if drunk, he calls some of the Masu-Bori to kneel before him, and after having caught hold of each of them, he sneezes and goes.

His kirari is :

" I am Auta, The Attractor of The Great, [Son] of Gozo, the smallest of the warriors."

His song is :

" O Kulita, Spirit of The Drummers, Kulita The Soft Pestle [*i.e.* he is strong yet young and supple], While one is pounding with one end, the other end sprouts.

Warrior, Spirit of The Drummers. You Little Grain of Corn upon a rock

None but God can give you water. O Spirit of the Drummers,

You Little Acacia [the bark of which is used for tanning], if one eats you you are bitter,

If one leaves you you are a medicine [an astringent medicine is made from the seeds].

Little Pepper, if one eats you you are hot,

If one leaves you you see something small and good."

GARUJE is a brother of Sarikin Rafi. He hates whispering, and so punishes people who indulge in the habit. He is also a " peacemaker," since he settles quarrels—though hardly by arbitration !! If he finds, say, ten men fighting, he will twist the necks of four, beat four others until lifeless, and pull out the eyes of the remaining two. Then he will say " I have settled the quarrel." He seems to be almost a demon of scandal.

At the dance, he moves round and round, then to and fro, and then he kneels, beats his chest, jumps, sneezes, and goes.

His song is :

" Garuje, save me from shame.

I did not come here on your account [*i.e.* to bother you].

Garuje, save me from shame.

Garuje, where can we wander ?

I did not come here on your account.

I punched the whisperer.

Garuje, save me from shame.

Will you not give the drummer a tobe ? " [*i.e.* will you not reward the musicians for playing and singing so nicely].

BA-ABSINI is, as his name denotes, an Asben spirit, but one who is welcome among the warriors (though amongst them only, since he is a thief), because of his prowess. He tends his herds of camels when all is peaceful, and gives health and strength of body to his worshippers, the proper sacrifices being a red cock and a white hen according to one informant, a pair of black fowls according to another—the latter being probably correct. At the dance, he moves about with a spear, thrusting at enemies before him.

His kirari is in the Asben tongue.

His song is :

" Ba-Absini, wearer of a leather skin,
His hand is saluting, his foot is stealing
[the toes can grip things].

When your mother was measuring grain
You would measure out some [for your-
self],

Even while [you were a baby and] she
was carrying you on her back [*i.e.* with
your foot].

You hit with your club, the head in the
morning is as in the evening [*i.e.* it does not matter



FIG. 45.
Ba-Absini's Spear

whether it is light or dark, you cannot aim straight and hit it].

Your money is not more than 10,000 cowries [under 10s.].

Bad youth, Offspring of a Monkey,

Your penis is as large as that of the grown men.

The orphan, the one difficult to suckle,

You give him meat and he asks for the bone." [Not at all grateful for having been given the best part.]

MANZO KARAMI or DAN MANZO (Little Messenger) (53) is a brother of Manzo Baba, but as they have quarrelled, they never enter the ring together, though the friends of each are the same. He can give any illness, the proper sacrifice being a pair of red fowls. At the dance, he shakes an imaginary spear in his right hand and then gives an alarm like his brother. He may also stab himself with knives.

His kirari is :

" I am Dan Manzo, the Dwarf Date Palm, the friend of Kulita, the friend of Baraje."

His song is :

" Dan Manzo save me from shame, save me from ridicule,
The mouth of the world will destroy me uselessly and
for nothing.

I heard the alarm, I heard the war shout at the camp of
the Beriberi,

It was not war, it was not fire, so I went to help.

It was the battle of the head-cloth and hair, the battle
of the eyes [*i.e.* love-making between men and
women].

Sir, save me from shame, save me from ridicule,

The mouth of the world would eat a stone much more
a child of men.

O One who ends the fight, the one who pits men [against
one another] has pitted them,

The Youths are suffering from the hatchet and the axe.
 Dan Manzo, Friend of Kulita, Friend of Baraje,
 Friend of Baraje, Small Date-Palm,
 Its goodness prevents his height" [*i.e.* that which is
 little and good].

ANGAZARI is a son of Yerima. He gives his victims pain in the ankle (? rheumatism), the proper sacrifice being red and white fowls. At the dance, he waves cloths in the air, and then sits down and claps, afterwards beating his breast with the right and then with the left hand.

His song is :

" Angazari, Son of The Whiskered One,
 Kolas and tobacco [you have], Son of Abba,
 Angazari, Son of The Whiskered One.
 I give thanks to him with the beak,
 I give thanks to Angazari.
 Chew kola-nuts, Son of the Ruler,
 O Wise One, stay with your people.
 Can an ostrich alight upon a branch of a tree ? [*i.e.*
 your place is with your own people].
 The chief is too great for a ram to be killed for him [he
 ought to have a bull given in his honour],
 With this song are you angry, O Son of The Ruler ?
 Chew kola-nuts, Angazari.
 Bull of Abba, Bull of the Heir [both refer to Yerima]
 Mourning for poverty I want [to do—he is very generous].
 I had no tobe, the son of Abba bought me a tobe ;
 I had no trousers, the son of Abba bought me trousers.
 O Youths, O Youths, blind lust is the cure for a girl
 [this spirit makes any female who refuses him
 desire him madly afterwards].
 I have my own money, I go to every market.
 The baby in arms refuses to be comfortable,
 It vomits, it excretes, its nose runs.

O Angazari, it is you who rule the city." [This is the line given with the music in Chapter XVII.]

MAI-CHIBI or MAI-ZUMBULKU (The One with The Navel) (54), sings in war behind the Yan Garke to encourage them. He gives his victims large navels, or pain there, and the sufferer ought to sacrifice a pigeon and make an offering of ground-nuts—he is, therefore, a very young spirit. At the dance, he places his hands upon his stomach, elbows out, and rocks from side to side. I could not obtain the song.

MUSAI or BUZU (54) is another Asben, a slave to Ba-Absini. At the dance, he goes around with his spear, plants it in the ground, brings his shield in front of his left foot, and then beats the ground hard with his feet, jumps, sneezes, and goes. He does not stay long, for Ba-Absini takes his place as soon as he can do so. He is a very humble spirit, and should he arrive too early he must ask leave to dance—he is doing this in the photograph.

His song is :

“ Ali—O Ali-li, Son of Abba,

Ali—O Ali-li, Son of Abba.

Buzu, give me your mount [supposed to be said by Ba-Absini],

Do you hear, Buzu, [Slave] of Ba-Absini ? ”

The next one is BEBE (The Deaf-Mute) or KURUMA (The Deaf One) (54). He afflicts with deafness those who annoy him, and often makes them dumb as well, but he also gives the appropriate medicines, the proper sacrifice to him being a goat or fowls of the red and white mixture, known as *sandan bagaruwa*. At the dance, he makes strange noises, and walks around, and is very quarrelsome.

Kuri, Yerima, Sarikin Rafi, and others always retire when he comes, for if he sees them he pouts his lips, and taps his right cheek with the fingers of his right hand, this being a signal to the audience that these spirits tell lies, and they, of course, hate to be held up to ridicule.

His song is :

“ [You have] no mouth, O my Deaf-Mute,
Deaf One of the company.
To-day [you have] no mouth O my Deaf-Mute.
Abba is calling me, Great Bebe, Son of a Chief,
[But] not with his mouth Great Bebe, Son of a Chief.
Give us happiness O Players upon the violin,
Give us happiness, O Players upon the calabash [instead
of drum in Hausaland and in Tripoli].
Give us happiness, O Great Bebe.”

DAN HASUMI (54) is an apprentice of Mai-Aska, and, like him, makes his victims bald—rather a libel upon the tonsorial profession of Jan Gari. At the dance, he goes round and round, and then sits down, and places one hand over another, and then changes them, this being a sign that he is true, and also an invitation to the young girls to give him money.

His song is :

“ Show me Dan Hasumi [spectators supposed to be
speaking],
Show me my warrior.
Whether I die rests with my mount [Dan Hasumi sup-
posed to be speaking],
Whether I live rests with my mount [*i.e.* if the mount
does the dance badly the spirit is ridiculed].”

CHAPTER XXVI

BORI—THE YOUTHS

THE next class of spirits to be considered is that of the SAMARI or youths—though a few of them are females. These are Mohammedans, but do not offer up prayers, except privately in Jan Gari. At the dance, they do not act as mallams, though they can read and write, and are well educated. It is impossible to give their origin, but they seem to have been borrowed from foreign sources. There is a doubt as to who is the principal one in this class, but Mai-Lema is generally given the preference, so we may start with him.

MAI-LEMA (He with The Covering, *i.e.* the canopy) (55), or, as he is better known in Hausaland, BA-GUDU (Not Running, *i.e.* Brave Man), is the eldest of the children whom Yerima placed with Mallam Ali Geshe and Magajiya when he took away their son Haukachi, the others being Zanzammo, Yaura, and Magajin Yaura. Another account says that Yerima gave them six of his children, these being Mai-Lema Kaura, Sa'idi, Ba-Jin-Chiwu, Kuwara, and Ya-Biyu.

At the dance, he walks around, holding his clothes wide open, and later on waving his hand with a spear in it. In Tunis, he and his friends first assemble under a canopy, where they pay him court, but I have not seen this elsewhere. In Nigeria Alfanda may have the canopy.

His kirari is :

“ I am the Ba-Gudu of the King.”

His song is :

“ Ba-Gudu go in front, O Son of Yerima,
If the king is going to war
God preserve the orphans.
Let him who has a wife give her [to work at getting
ready the commissariat—flour, dried meat, etc.],
The king this year is going to war.
Let him who has two wives give one,
The king this year is going to war.”

ZANZAMMO (55) is a spirit which prevents sleep, and is a kind of skin irritation apparently. At the dance, he walks to and fro, and then round the top part of the ring three times, stopping in front of the drums. After this he goes to the opposite end and drives unfriendly spirits out of the ring. Then he walks round three times, and finally he comes near to the drummers, sits down, sneezes, and goes.

His song is :

“ Zanzammo prevents sleep,
Zanzammo prevents rest.
O Render do not do that.” [When he is driving the
other bori away.]

YAURA (55) is the patron-spirit of the gamblers (*Yan Chacha* or *Yan Gujiya*), and he is mostly concerned with their good or bad fortune, though he can give illnesses also, the proper sacrifices being speckled fowls. At the dance, he moves around, and then sits down and flips his fingers as if gambling with cowries. He dances with Mai-Lema also, and in the photograph he is seen with his leader under the canopy.

His song is :

“ Yaura, the son of the Galladima,
Yaura has sent for me [to come and sleep with him],
Although I have not yet rubbed on the blue [indigo mixed with grease or shea butter in the hair, to render the woman more attractive].
Yaura come and get milk [from her breasts],
Not that of cows,
Even if you do not give me anything [in payment].
Me, he has called me, has Yaura,
Even if you do not give me anything,
Yaura will be the master of my house [*i.e.* her husband *pro tem.*, probably while he has money].
My name in childhood, they called me [*i.e.* was] Yaura,
The Beriberi in play they called me Yaura,
The Filani in play they called me Yaura.
My name in the register [of Jan Gari] is Baba-da-Rai Yam Musa [Father is alive, Son of Moses].
Oh dear! Yam Musa, Musan Gaya, and Abubakar [are your friends].
If it were not night I should follow you.”

MUSAN GAYA is a friend of Yaura, and seems now to have become merged into him. He is also confused with Mallam Ali Geshe.

MAGAJIN YAURA (Heir of Yaura), ABUBAKAR, or ISMAILA, the youngest of the four, is also a patron of *Chacha*. He makes girls' breasts irritate—and possibly awakens desire within them—the proper sacrifice being as for Mallam Geshe. At the dance, he rubs himself all over, and seems to have some skin complaint, though not one as bad as itch.



55.—Mai-Lema (Khadejia) is seen in the centre surrounded by his comrades, who are, taken in order from the left, Ba Jin Chiwu (gives gripes), Yaura (bad fortune in gambling), Sa'idi (children's unknown ailments), Zanzammo (skin irritation), and Haukachi (lameness). The people standing are not possessed.

His song is :

“ Magajin Yaura, Abubakar,
 Magajin Yaura, with you I want to do it [the young
 girls want him and invite him to sleep with them].
 Magajin Yaura, Ismaila,
 Magajin Yaura with you I want to do it [*i.e.* I am for
 you].
 I am being sought in the dark, I am found in the light of
 the moon.
 Disciple of the young girls, he begs with a calabash for
 kola-nuts,
 Abubakar begs, and at the same time he feels their
 breasts.
 Abubakar begs, and at the same time he tickles their
 waists.”

KAURA causes a man to want another man's wife, and so he raises trouble continually. He also looks after a mother at her delivery, and is often invoked by pregnant women. At the dance, Kaura goes upon his hands and feet because Magajiya's husband (Geshe)—his foster-father—is in some way connected with a lion (Zakuwa).

His kirari is :

“ I am Kaura (Son of) Mai-saje, I am the son of a concubine.”

His song is :

“ Kaura, Son of the house of Mai-saje,
 There is no God but God.
 I am not tired, I am not tired,
 There is no God but God.
 I have brought trouble upon my own head.
 I saw a horse tied up ; it was not the horse which I
 desired,
 It was the owner of the horse which I sought [the wife].”

I shall not marry in Tunis, ' wash your feet and enter '
 [i.e. clean feet is all you bring, there are no presents,
 because the Hausas are poor].

I shall not marry in Tunis [where] the women eat with
 the men,

The women eat manihot, Son of a Slave."

SA'IDI (55) is another of Yerima's sons. He is responsible
 for children's unknown ailments, but any fowls will pro-
 pitiate him. He seduces every female he meets. At the
 dance, he sits down for a little while, sneezes, and goes.

His kirari is :

" I am Sa'idi one of Allah's chosen."

His song is :

" Oh, Oh, Oh, Husband of many,
 Sa'idi does not understand ' leave it ' [i.e. he will never
 desist].

Oh, Oh, Oh, Sa'idi, take thirty [of your numerous
 women] and throw them

Between the kalgo and the sabara [trees].

Take thirty more and sell them, take thirty and keep
 them.

Sa'idi [is] the spirit of Bagiro [a celebrated dancer].

Oh, Oh, Oh, Husband of many.

If your mistresses are too many for you already send me
 back home."

BA-JIN-CHIWU (Not Feeling Ill) (55), a son of Yerima,
 or, according to some, of Sarikin Rafi, belies his name, for
 he gives sore ribs and internal pains—probably gripes—
 the proper sacrifice being black and white fowls. At the
 dance, he walks around holding his stomach and groaning,
 then falls, sneezes and goes.

His song is :

“ He despised me, oh, he despised me, oh,
O Allah, it is not I who am Allah. Allah give me a lover,
Whether tiny or adult, a child, or one in the womb lying.”

And then a bit of a song is added which was evidently Kaura's at one time, and as it is sometimes the custom to mention the elders when speaking of the younger, it is evident that Ba-Jin-Chiwu is Kaura's brother.

“ Kaura, Son of the Whiskered One,
O Allah, leave me my own bori.
Kaura is in his room lying down,
Ten mistresses are massaging him.
Love is like water in a basin,
You rinse your mouth and then spit it out again.”

YA BIYU (54) and KUWARA (54) are twins, sister and brother, children of Yerima by a concubine. They can give any illness, and any fowls will do as a sacrifice. They enter the ring together, and Kuwara's song is sung for both. Although a female, Ya Biyu can fight, and her kirari is :

“ I am Ya Biyu, equal to ten.”

The song is :

“ It is night, Kuwara, Twin Bori,
I want to sleep but I cannot,
Even though an ear of corn they give me.
O Crowd of Women get to spinning,
I cannot dance without cloths.
Kuwara, Cuddler, Son of Nana,
You are like water in which cotton has been soaked
[supposed to be very good].
Stop looking at him [this to the other women],
May Allah preserve to me my own bori.”

HAUKACHI (Mad One) (55) is a son of Geshe and Magajiya, as has been said, and was brought up by Yerima. He is lame in his right leg because once he ran away from Yerima, and played with the six youths in Zakuwa's cave. Zakuwa (Geshe, his own father) saw him and bit his leg, whereupon he drew his sword and cut the lion down. He can give any illness, but mostly loss of sense and lameness, the sacrifice being a pair of red and white fowls. At the dance, he throws one cloth over each shoulder, binds up his right thigh with a cloth, and then places the right foot over the left three times, and does the same with the left. Then he goes round the ring, stopping in front of the drummers to repeat the action with his legs. Then he kneels, beats himself upon the ground, sneezes, and goes off.

His kirari is :

“ I am the son of Yerima, the heir of Yerima. I am the spine of the hedgehog so hard to bind. I am the plant which grows on the walls. Where are those of Abba, the sons of Abba ? I am the one son, the one, the one.”

His song is :

“ Step out, O Orphan [deprived of his parents], step out,
 There are kola-nuts and tobacco, O Infant. [He is very popular with women.]
 Step out, O Orphan, step out,
 There are kola-nuts and flowers, O Son of Abba [called so because in his charge].
 He can dance like those with sound legs this son of Abba,
 He can dance like those with parents this son of Abba.
 Son of Abba, there are kola-nuts and tobacco, I thank you.
 Bite the kola-nut and step out. Hail, Son of Abba.

They [women] have spoiled him. They even chew up
[the kola-nut] for him [so as to save him the
trouble].

He does not understand the hidden meaning of
words,

The women have spoiled him.

He does not understand the hidden meaning of
words,

[But] he does know the meaning of *Tsarenchi* [sleeping
with a girl but not completing the act]."

MABA is said by some to be a son of Mallam Geshe, and if so, Haukachi is not the only one. He can give any illness, the sacrifice being like that of his father. At the dance, he enters with some of the foregoing samari—*e.g.* Ba-Gudu, Yaura, Magajin Yaura, Kaura, Sa'idi, or Haukachi, and while they sit down, he stands amongst them and sings to them, afterwards they all dance together. Or else, as in the photograph, he plays with the Yam-Makaranta, when he sits down, rubs his body, and rolls from side to side.

His song is :

" In front is better than behind [if you did not want to go
to another place you would not travel],

The canoe travels for a year.

The son of Mariyamu did not inherit ' No ' [will not be
put off by a refusal].

The son of a king because of his greed

Married a beggar [to beg for him].

She bore a son to him.

Come Marabout [bird], the one which prevents women
spinning. [It is so beautiful that they drop their
spindles and run after it ¹].

The chief's son when he went begging

Was given a cow.

I am not a boxer [to whom such a prize is given] ; I am not a butcher.

What shall I do with a horned bull in the city ? ”

The last part is supposed to be the bori speaking, and complaining that he has been given too much, so, apparently, even a spirit may become embarrassed by his riches !

CHAPTER XXVII

BORI—THE LITTLE SPOTS

MOST of the YAYAN JIDDERI, as they are called in North Africa, or the YAYAN ZANZANNA, as they are known in Hausaland, are spirits which cause rashes and sore eyes, hence their name "Children of Spots," or Little Spots, but some of them afflict their victims in other ways. Their complaints are comparatively trivial on the whole, they call in the aid of a greater spirit to inflict a serious injury, as we have seen in the case of Salah, but they can give smallpox, and that, particularly among the Hausas, is anything but trifling. The names are Arabic, but since we can hardly imagine that skin complaints were unknown in early times, we must suppose that these spirits are dead children whose names have been changed.

Usually, offerings of sugar and ground-nuts (placed in the Temple) are sufficient, or, in times of danger, pigeons are sacrificed, but in extreme cases, the spirits will demand fowls like the adult bori, though I was told that goats are never offered. Toys are always acceptable, as has been said, the most common being dolls, wooden horses, miniature sandals, and skittles, with the last of which some of the Little Spots dance at times.

They are divided into the YAM-MAKARANTA, or Scholars, and the YAM-MATA or Girls, and, although the former are the more powerful, they seem to believe in the idea of "ladies first," for the Yam-Mata always precede those of

the sterner sex in the ring, and, when they have gone, the Yam-Makaranta arrive, usually mounting the same horses and mares. Most of them clap their hands at the dance, but there is no particular signification in this, I was informed, it is simply because the spirits, being young, behave like children. For a similar reason they cry if touched during the dance, and they are not supposed to jump.



FIG. 46.—A
Skittle of the
Yayan Jidderi

There is some difference of opinion as to which of the Yam-Mata is the senior, but as NANA MARIYAMU (56) is usually named, we may consider her first. One might suppose that, being only a girl, she would not be married, but that would be wrong, for she is a wife of Jato, though some say that she has not yet lived with him. She gives her victims sore eyes and colds in the head, the proper sacrifice being a speckled hen and a red cock. She always appears with some of her companions at the dance, when she washes her clothes, smells them—like a German Customs Official—to ascertain if they have been thoroughly cleansed, and then spreads them out to dry. Upon her head she places two head-cloths, and she touches these to draw people's attention to them, and also to indicate to the audience that she is ready for presents of sugar. Then she wipes her nose, sneezes, and goes.

Her song is :

“ Where is Mariyo, where is Mariyamu ?

Where is Mariyamu with her ornaments ? [spots].

Where is Mariyo, where is Mariyamu ?
Beautiful is she with her small spots.
Where is Mariyo, where is Mariyamu ? ”

NANA AYESHA KARAMA (56) is said to be a grandchild of Yerima. She has a farm of her own. She gives sore eyes and smallpox, the proper sacrifice being speckled fowls. Although young, she is by no means innocent, as her song shows. At the dance, she wears white, red, and pink cloths on her body, and two head-cloths, one tied on each side. She rushes about, claps her hands, waves a cloth in the air, and then sits down and scratches herself, and lets her head fall first on one side and then on the other, afterwards resting it upon one hand. If not given sugar then she cries, but if she receives enough she becomes lively again, and dances around once more, until she sneezes and goes.

Her song is :

“ Nana Ayesha welcome to you,
Let us salute the owner of the farm, salute Nana Ayesha.
Let us salute Nana Ayesha, salute the grinder of the corn.
Alas Nana, Alas Nana, O Nana !
The [Grandchild] of Yerima, Daughter of Zanzanna.
Let us salute Nana, let us salute Nana,
Nana, the Daughter of the Claws [she scratches with her
sharp nails, hence the pock-marks].
Alas Nana, alas, she came with her ornamentation,
She conceived a bastard,
She brought on an abortion.
O Nana Ayesha, you had an abortion.”

NANA HASSANA is the daughter of an Arab spirit of Gwanja. She gives sore eyes like the others, but she also turns her victims' blood white (anæmia), because she drinks

it, the proper sacrifice being any fowls. At the dance, she moves round clapping her hands, and then sits down and again claps.

Her kirari is :

“ I am Nana Hassana.”

Her song is :

“ Hassana has not eaten yesterday's meat,
But she has drunk blood [of the person whom she has
seized].

With a small dish she walks about collecting blood
[Does] Hassana, the daughter of the Arab of Gwanja.
Hassana with her dish collects blood.”

NANA SO-JIKKI (Love Body) makes her victims lose their power to sit up properly, her sacrifice being fowls of the colour of ashes. At the dance, she sits and falls on one side, then on the other. I was unable to obtain her song.

NANA TSIWA (Impertinence) is a daughter of Ba-Maguje. She causes quarrels amongst children, the proper offering being a cloth. She is also glad of ground-nuts and even beer, but does not like any sacrifice, so I was told. At the dance, she rolls her buttocks from side to side, and after having beaten her face and stomach, she stands at the salute. Lastly she jumps, sneezes, and goes.

Her kirari is :

“ I am Nana Tsiwa, the horned one. Whoever wants to quarrel with me will find me to-morrow morning.”

Her song is :

“ You Nana Tsiwa with the beautiful appearance [dress, ornaments, etc.],
Whoever seeks to quarrel with you,
To-morrow will find you.”



56



57

56.—Dangira (itch), Nana Ayesha Karama (small-pox), Nana Mariyamu (colds), Yal Bawa (small-pox), Yal Kunama (pimples).

57.—Mai-Nassara and Essiayako (small-pox), Ismaila (sore eyes and legs), Adani, and Maba.

All of the above are the *Yayan Zanzanna*, or "Little Spots."

YAL KUNAMA (Daughter of The Scorpion) (56) is said by some to be the same as Nana Ayesha, but this does not appear to be correct. She too gives sore eyes, but also sharp pricking pains (? pimples or boils) like scorpion bites, the proper offering being sweets. At the dance, she moves around, and then sits and claps her hands, afterwards opening and closing them, imitating the insects' movements. Lastly she smoothes them over her body, sneezes, and goes.

Her song is :

“ She can sting can Yal Kunama,
She can sting can Yal Kunama.”

YAL BAWA (Daughter of a Slave) (56) is a Zanfara spirit which gives sore eyes and smallpox. At the dance, she moves round, and then sits down and claps her hands until she is given onions, which she rubs upon her face, saying that they are scent. I was told that her song is the same as that for Nana Ayesha Karama.

DANGIRA,¹ DAUSA, or KAIKAI (Itch) (56) is a sister of Yerima. She causes the ailment which her name denotes, the proper sacrifice being a pair of speckled fowls. At the dance, after the usual parade, she sits down and scratches herself violently, particularly the face and chest. Ismaila and the other Yam-Makaranta drive her away if they come while she is in the ring, as they dislike her.

Her song is :

“ Improve the town, You, Nana,
Improve the town, Dangira,
Improve the town, Dwarf [Little Sister] of the Yerima.
She dances in the clothes of her slave [no one else would
lend her any, for she would infect them].

Improve the town You, Nana.

Do not get angry Dangira [if the kola-nuts do not come].

Bring, bring the calabash of kola-nuts."

The principal boy is **ESSIYAKO**. He also gives sore eyes and smallpox, but is appeased by anything red—the martial colour—for he likes people to think that he and all of his companions are warriors. At the dance, he moves round with a spear, and then sits down and claps his hands and beats the ground like the others—for he is really only a child like them. I was unable to obtain his song.

ISMAILA or **ALMAJIRI** (Disciple) (57) also gives sore eyes, and he is appeased by sugar, ground-nuts, etc., as are the others. At the dance, he walks about holding out his tobe for offerings which he gives to the drummers. Then he sits down and reads from an imaginary book, after which some of the Masu-Bori press his arms so as to fold them over his breast (the hands being upon the opposite shoulders), and then he claps his hands, sneezes, and goes. Sometimes he holds a spear at first like Essiyako.

His song is :

" Ismaila you have a horse, Ismaila,
 O, Mallam with the prayer-board, you defeated those in
 armour. [This is the line given with the music in
 Chapter XVII.]
 Ismaila, Disciple with the horns.²
 O Disciple [to] the citizens, [he seeks alms from the rich
 only] O Ismaila,
 Waters, waters are stirred up Ismaila [he fouls them],
 The waters on the earth not those from above.
 O Youth with the tatu marks, Ismaila.
 I like the city, I like the village,
 He who has the city has not the village [he cannot live
 in both at the same time].

The village maiden does not get Kano cakes,
Buy for her roots and beans" [the universal contempt
of the city dweller for his suburban countrymen].

MAI-NASSARA (57) is sometimes known as MIJIN MAZZA (Man of Men), and his functions are similar to those of Essiyako. At the dance, he holds a spear, and walks round three times, then stops in front of the drummers, puts his right hand upon his left breast, and bends slightly forward, then vice versa. Afterwards, he claps his hands, mimics some of the other bori, sneezes, and goes.

His song is :

" Mai-Nassara with the amulets [upon the arms usually],
O Youth who shows diligence.

Mai-Nassara, Man of Men, One with a beard like a he-goat.

Mai-Nassara with the charms of youth, O Mai-Nassara,
The Breaker of Horses, Man of Men."

ADANI (57) is much like Essiyako, but is said by some to wrestle with the Yan-Ruwa at times. His dance is the same as that of Essiyako.

His song, a very flattering one, is :

" O Strong One, Adani,

Going without returning [one who will not turn back in war].

Hey Hen, do not ignore the wild cat [*i.e.* let no one ignore Adani].

You, Goat, do not insult the hyena [that is as dangerous as for a human being to insult this spirit].

O Strong One, Mallam Adani."

The last of the Yayan Jidderi is little MALLAM MUSHE, so called in play. He also gives sore eyes and smallpox. At the dance, he repeats the Koran in a loud voice, reading from a prayer-board (as do children), and then prays.

CHAPTER XXVIII

BORI—THE SPIRITS OF THE FOREST, OF THE WATERS, AND OF THE GROVE

THE spirits of the Forest, YAN DOWA, which are danced in Tunis, are the Lion, the Hyena, the Elephant, and with these is classed the Dog, because he chases them when they are near to the house. Probably they were much more numerous at one time, for there seems to be but little doubt that they were totems. Thus in the photograph, we see Zaki (or Zaiki), and Bultu in front, and Kare (or Karre) behind, watching them. These spirits seem to be the personal bori of the animals themselves, for they are supposed simply to bite and claw their victims as the real animals would do—though no marks need be visible, for the gnawing and tearing might be internal. The idea is seen in the case of the boy which the donkey bori caused to roll upon the ground. If this is so, it is more easy to understand the connexion between the totem and the bori (as Salah put it), for, according as the bori of the animal was pleased or offended, so would the totem animal itself treat its worshippers well or ill. The same would apply to the bird bori mentioned later, and to the tree bori which we have already examined. I was told that at one time many more animals were represented at the dance than there are now, and, as has been seen in the initiation rites of the Fittan Fura, instruction in the bori dances was given during the time that the children were being taught how to approach their totems.

At the dance, when it is time for the Lion or Hyena spirit to leave the mount, a piece of meat is held out, and the bori at once seizes it, and so leaves his doki.

To ZAKI (The Lion) (58) are sacrificed fowls coloured like a partridge. At the dance, he moves on hands and knees, clawing the ground and looking for something to eat. His kirari is :

“ Allah is feared, the Lion is to be feared.”

His song is :

“ O Lion, you go to the forest, it is not yours,
Whoever owns a house he will have a visitor [the Lion],
Even the poor man.
When shall I find a fool
Who will bring me a ram to eat ? [This to prevent the
lion looking for food in the ring.]
There is nothing but the hollow of a tree and an empty
house.
O Lion, Elder Brother of the Forest, Drum of the Forest
[his roar is an alarm].
There is nothing so strong as the Lion.”

The Hyena (58), called BULTU (Kanuri) or KURA (Hausa), gives glandular swellings (? as from a poisonous bite), and makes the victims' mouths water. At the dance, she moves about on hands and knees slightly behind Zaki, and, if she sees anything of a red colour, she will rush at it and try to devour it, thinking that it is flesh. Other Masu-Bori have to be on guard, therefore, to prevent this, by getting in front, but the mount is not tied in any way as in Nigeria.¹ I am not sure if WULA is the same as Kura or not, the actions and attributes appear to be the same.*

The song is :

- “ You, O Daughter of the Bush,
Bultu, Daughter of the Bush,
Kura, Daughter of the Bush,
Do not eat the drummers' ram
Saying that you have been given nothing.
O Scrambler, everything is yours [she is very greedy].
O Walker in Slippery Places, Dog of the Rain [will go
anywhere in any weather for anything to eat],
Whoever is out at night is your father's servant [*i.e.*
she will seize him as if he belonged to her father and
she had a right to bring him home].”

GIWA (Elephant) makes her victims' bodies sore all over, and heavy. At the dance, she goes about heavily upon hands and knees, and jumps twelve times.

Her song is :

- “ They are in front of the Great One, I have not left you behind,
O Mountain of Flesh of the River, O Strong One,
O Elephant, One with The Trunk, O Burster, O Strong One,
O Elephant, Owner of the Forest, Allah gave you it not men.
O Elephant, Owner of the Forest, you are equal to many men.
The Mountain of Flesh has come.”

KARE (Dog) (58) is the same as Tsuguna in Northern Nigeria. He causes his victims to make noises like a bark (? whooping-cough). He has to watch the foregoing, and he always appears with Zaki and Bultu, barking at them to alarm the people.



58.—Kare the Dog, Zaki the Lion, and Bultu the Hyæna. The last-named animal is driven off by the lion, while the dog barks at both in rear.

59.—Baddo, Kadda, Dubabi, and Sarikin Kabbi are water-jinns, the last of whom is calling down the rain. Sarikin Gwari walks about with a stick; he is silly through drink. Baba steals pots.

His song is :

“ Hap ! Hap ! Dog.

Hap ! Hap ! Dog.

See the dog. The dog of the Chief.”

There are several Spirits of the Waters² which give their victims thirst, the sacrifice being a pair of fowls coloured like a hawk. All seem to be crocodiles except Sarikin Rafi, the chief, who is now classed amongst the Moham-medan spirits, though his prototype was once a pagan god.

The next one in order of importance is DODO IBRAHIMA, SARIKIN KABBI, or BA-KABBI (59), the son of Sarikin Rafi, and he also has power over the rain—in the photograph he is calling it down.

At the dance, he kneels down, and a calabash of water is brought to him, which he noses. He lifts up his head, shakes it, puts it down again, lifts and shakes it, puts it down for the third time, sneezes, and goes. All of the water-spirits may be enticed away in this manner, and it is interesting to note that such a belief was held by the ancient Assyrians. Sometimes Ibrahima may throw some of the water over his head.

His song is :

“ Bogey Ibrahima, Bogey Ibrahima,

[See the] Bogey, Children, [see the] Bogey. The Bogey is welcome. [This line is given with the music in Chapter XVII.]

See Bogey Ibrahima, Servant of Goje.

A spirit [he is], a spirit of Sangwai [another bori city],

A spirit [he wishes to be] upon a bed in Sangwai.”

For after a bath one always wishes to rest, or, as another informant puts it, he is a chief and will not sit upon the ground.

KADDA (Crocodile) (59) and BADDO (59) are practically the same as Dodo Ibrahima. They are supposed to be swimming in the photograph. Baddo is also the name of a water-lily said to be edible, but whether the plant has been named after the spirit or vice versa, it is impossible to say.

Their song is :

“ One who plays with the waters, Kadda.
Son of Sarikin Rafi, Kadda.”

DUBABI (59) is a son of Dodo Ibrahima, and his functions and dance are similar. He must not dance in front of his father without permission, and only then when his head has been covered with a cloth.

His song is :

“ O Son of the King of the Waters, Dubabi,
O Son of the King of the Waters, Dubabi.
He has gone to Jan Gari and left me,
He has left me with a headache. [People sitting near
water are affected by him thus.]
He has left me, I am seeking him,
Dubabi, Dubabi, Dubabi, Son of the King of the
Waters.”

BA-KABBA is a young full-sister of Dubabi, and gives thirst, but also sore feet (? through standing in the water), and, in fact, any illness, her offerings being the same as those made to the Yayan Jidderi. At the dance, she sits like the others, but first jumps around like a frog ; possibly she represents this animal.

Her song is :

“ Little Dish of the house of the Arifa, she jumps.” [A small dish is placed in vessels of water so that it floats on top, and thus acts to some extent as a stopper. It is also used as a ladle.]

AYU (Mannattee) drags down anyone whom he catches in the water. He is not danced in North Africa, I was told. He calls "*wa'ak, wa'ak*," and holds his arms down to his sides, then lifting them, and slapping his face. The executioners of the Crocodile Secret Society drag their victims down in this manner.

The YAN KURIMI (Children of the Grove—not bush or forest) are both male and female, some being ancestors, apparently, others totems. The most important of the former is SARIKIN GWARI (59), who makes people silly through drink, thus softening their brains, but he is fairly accessible, for any fowls may be sacrificed to him. At the dance, he walks about with a long chief's stick, then sits on a stool, lights his pipe, and smokes.

His song is :

" See we are going to war with Gwari
Let us be in front not behind.
See we are going to war with Gwari
We are afraid of the Gwari knife [one with a handle in
the shape of a ring],³
Let us go in front not behind,
We are going to war with Bauchi " [which country often
used to fight with Gwari].

YAKOBA (named after a former chief of Bauchi) or YAM-YAM (or YEM YEM) is rather a mysterious spirit, for he appears to be double, though this is denied. He is a cannibal, and at the dance he looks about for meat, and, if he gets none, starts biting his hands.

His song is :

" Yakoba, leave the meat for the Yam-Yam,
Pour out the blood for the Yam-Yam.
Dada, Dada [Arzikki Boboniya, the mother of the

woman supposed to be singing], give me my body-cloth [to put on for]

I am going to gaze upon Yakoba the medicine [*i.e.* the terror] of Gwari,

The Puller out of the chiefs, the Bull."

MAI-KASOSOWA (He with The Iron spear) or FARIN BA-LARABE (White Arab) gives trembling fits. He dances with a knife or sword in his hand, which he waves about his head.

His song is :

" O Mai-Kasosowa, Killer of Men, White Arab,

Here are a virgin and an old woman.

Where is the man from Zaria ?

Here are the sweet cakes, Here are cakes boiled in oil

[this is supposed to be sung by Kano people laughing at those of Zaria],

Give them to the Zaria man."

MATAN SARIKIN GWARI, or BA-GWARIYA, the principal female spirit of the grove, is the wife of the chief of these spirits, as her name denotes ; she is sometimes confused with Arzikki Boboniya. At the dance, after having covered her face with a cloth—because it is so hideous is one reason given ; Medusa was of Libyan origin—she moves around, then she sits and grinds imaginary corn upon her thigh, and looks about, and swallows it when no one is looking.

Her song is :

" Arzikki is beautiful, Ba-Gwariya,

She has come in a white cloth.

Arzikki is beautiful, Boboniya,

The mother of Yerima, the mother of citizens."

ARZIKKI BOBONIYA or NANA ARZIKKI ⁴ (Lucky Nana) is a Gwari, and a wife of Mallam Alhaji, also the nurse (but not the mother) of Yerima. She makes her victims' legs useless, the proper sacrifice being a red cock and a speckled hen. She was a poor old Gwari female, and was the slave of the other bori, until her marriage. One account is that Kuri took her first, but would not marry her. At the dance, she walks round and claps her hands, then stands with her knees turned in against one another, her hands bent down holding the cloth, and she cries and lets her nose run.

Her song is :

“ Arzikki Boboniya has no cloth, only a rag [many pagans wear only leaves].

And the rag is not hers, the rag belongs to her slave [she has nothing].

Arzikki Boboniya, I am not coming for the rag.

In the city are many mallams [so you may procure a husband—said in derision].

Arzikki Boboniya, people are roaring with laughter.

Whoever laughs I shall not do so.

She ate a dog she did not give me any.

Arzikki Boboniya borrowed a rag.”

BIRI or BIRRI (Monkey) (60) gives people lice.⁵ He also destroys their crops unless propitiated. At the dance, he simply squats down upon his haunches, and when asked who he is, he sneezes and goes.

His song is :

“ My young monkey has a rake [his fingers],

Steal, steal with the rake.

My young monkey is cunning.

Here you, Young Monkey, come here, come here.”

ANGULU (Vulture) (60) makes people smell badly, the sacrifice being fowls of the same colour as herself. At the

dance, she squats and flaps her arms like wings, and makes appropriate noises.

Angulu's song is :

" Angulu your meat [as you like it] stinks,
I have not eaten it [I shall not do so] until to-morrow "
[when it has gone bad].

HANKAKA (White Breasted Crow) (60) and GAURAKA (Crown-bird) (60) are very similar. Both can give any illness to people in the bush, the proper sacrifice being fowls of the same colour as themselves. At the dance, they squat and flap their arms like Angulu.

Hankaka calls " Da, Da, Da, Da, Da, Da, Da [sounds like this bird makes] the men of Ilorin make one frightened " [because they have guns imported from Lagos].

Gauraka calls " Garanga, Garanga, Garang, garang, gara, gara, gar, gar."

Hankaka's song is :

" ' Da, da, da, ' so says Hankaka
Because she sees that one is grinding flour [and thinks
that she will get some],
Because she sees that we are going to Katsina.
' Da, da, da, ' so says Hankaka.
Because she sees that we are going to Sokoto for a
walk.
The young slave it is whom I have driven out."

The meaning of the last line is said to be that the bori of the slave was found to have been having illicit relations with the daughters of the master, but what that had to do with the Hankaka I could not discover.



60



60.—Biri the Monkey gives lice. Kaguwa the Crab makes her victims walk bent double. Hankaka the Crow and Gauraka the Crown Bird (second to right) give any illness in the bush. No one must see the face of Ba-Gwariya. Angulu the Vulture causes people to smell badly, and Sarikin Makafi makes them blind.

61.—The Final Jumping at Tripoli.

Gauraka's song is :

“ Of the seeds but three have I taken, [crown-birds pick up the newly sown grain],
Do not say that I have done any harm.”

The last is KAGUWA (60), the Crab, which distorts her victims' bodies, and makes them walk bent to one side. At the dance, she sits, turns hands and feet inwards, drops one shoulder, and makes movements as if walking along with a distorted body.

The musicians, to humour her, sing :

“ [To be like] the Crab is better than standing,”

but they are not particularly anxious to copy her, and so must keep on good terms. The Hausa is no novice in the gentle art of flattery ! I have not heard of a Blarney Stone in Nigeria, but there must be one, or, at least, something quite as efficacious.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE ORIGIN OF DEMONS AND DEMON-DANCING

THE belief in demons is not strange to us. Sir E. B. Tylor, in his *Primitive Culture*, has given examples in countries literally from China (via Africa) to Peru, and even Patagonia ; from England across America to the Antipodes.¹ The mention of the all-red route reminds us that even to-day our language shows us to be not free of such an idea, for, putting aside the question of the "good angels," the ritual for the casting out of devils is still preserved in the Roman Church, and we had only last year the edifying account of a ghost-laying in this country by a clergyman of even the Church of England ! What wonder then that we still speak of being in good or bad spirits, or of an evil genius ? The demon of unrest is often referred to, while not long ago a new devil was invented—namely, the "Influenza Fiend"—and even yet we are not quite certain "what the devil" to do to get rid of it.

The belief then that illnesses and misfortunes are due to demons is world-wide, and I think that any attempt to trace the origin of the fear of the bori amongst the Hausas to any foreign source would be futile. But there is a better chance of discovering the origin of some of the individual spirits, and of the rites due to them, so in these two concluding chapters an attempt will be made in that direction, and we shall commence by examining the personal spirits, for, as we have seen, a Hausa is really four or five beings.

The two angels are Semitic, probably an importation of

Islam. The question as to whether Mohammed got the idea through the Jews from Persia or not need not concern us now, so the following may be sufficient for us, as far as this book is concerned. "We created man, and we know that his soul whispereth within him; and we are nearer to him than his jugular vein. When the two angels deputed to take account of a man's behaviour, take an account thereof; one sitting on the right hand, and the other on the left; he uttereth not a word, but there is with him a watcher, ready to note it." ² According to Sale, the evil angel will drive the person to the judgment, where the other will bear witness for him. But there is a tradition that "the angel who notes a man's good actions, has command over him who notes his evil actions: and that when a man does a good action, the angel of the right hand writes it down ten times; and when he commits an ill action, the same angel says to the angel of the left hand, 'Forbear setting it down for seven hours; peradventure he may pray or may ask pardon.'" Sale says in his "Preliminary Discourse" that these angels were changed each day, and, though this is not the belief of the Hausa—who likes to think of a permanent association with his spirit—it is quite evident that his angels are those mentioned in the Koran.

Next let us take the bori of the opposite sex, the succuba or incubus, as the case may be. This spirit is certainly of the same kind as the bori of the bush, and, indeed, may even be one of those actually honoured at the dances, for it will be remembered that several of the spirits (*e.g.* Mallam Ali) chose human partners then, and other bori—generally females (*e.g.* Risana)—try to injure their human rivals, Magajiya objecting to the amours of even her son. Nana Ayesha Baba especially is

a very troublesome bori. Tylor gives examples in many parts of the world, finally quoting "Richard Burton's seriously believing account in the '*Anatomy of Melancholy*,' where he concludes with acquiescence in a declaration lately made by Lipsius, that on the showing of daily narratives and judicial sentences, in no age had these lecherous demons appeared in such numbers as in his own time—and this was about A.D. 1660." ³

We need not bother further with general examples, however, though it is as well to note that formal rites are specified in the Hindu Tantra which enable a man to obtain a companion nymph by worshipping her, and by repeating her name by night in a cemetery, because it seems to show that in early times the connexion was not considered to be disgraceful, and a similar idea must be in the mind of the Hausa who says that only good-tempered people have these spirit-lovers. I think that this belief also came from—or, at any rate, was influenced by—the East, for in Tobit vi. we find the following, spoken by Tobias to the angel who wished him to marry Sarah. "I am afraid, lest if I go in unto her, I die, as the others before: for a wicked spirit loveth her which hurteth no body, but those which come unto her; wherefore I also fear lest I die." Fortunately the angel told him how to make a charm, so, when Tobias entered the bridal chamber, he "took the ashes of the perfumes, and put the heart and liver of the fish thereupon, and made a smoke therewith, the which smell when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt" (vii.).

Now this is exactly the Hausa case, for, as I pointed out, the precautions taken at marriage are due to a fear of the Asmodeus or Lilith, whichever it may be. And the argument is made stronger, I think, by the fact that at

the time when I came to this conclusion I had not thought of the passage in the Apocrypha.⁴ But I do not say that the idea comes from the introduction of Mohammedanism, of course, it is a survival due to the Semitic influence in the races which went to form the mixture which we now call "Hausa," retained in full force even at the present time, owing to the fruitful nature of the soil upon which the seed fell.⁵ The fact that a despised and neglected wife is known as a *bora* may have some connexion with this question—for all wives are noted for their jealousy, and evil wishes may become evil influences.

As to the familiar bori, I am inclined to think that it is the soul of a deceased ancestor—or, at any rate, a member of the clan—for although the Hausa now says that a bori may go to any other person on the death of its temporary charge, the idea is quite foreign to the original belief (*i.e.* that every stranger was an enemy, a notion which was held not so many years ago in Nigeria, in all probability, the different districts being in constant conflict until our arrival), though it would easily weaken in North Africa, where all negroes, whatever their nationality, were slaves, for all, being equal, would naturally have much in common.⁶ Even nowadays, there is some confusion between the familiar and the soul, for when both go to the *Rijiyan Rai*, they may become one—which is quite comprehensible considering that both may have belonged to the same ancestor—and Mai-Bulala is called *Rai*, though such a description is very unusual for a bori. If this be correct, we need not look outside West Africa for the origin of the belief, since the ghosts in Nigeria are often consulted as to the welfare of the tribe, over the members of which they naturally watch with benevolence.⁷ The brilliant thoughts—ascribed to "genius" or "inspiration"—by means of

which we solve a difficulty, and the influence, unseen but felt, of our "Guardian Angel," which forces us into a particular path, away (as we discover later) from danger, are due without doubt in the Hausa mind to the only being which could care for him—namely, a member of his own clan.

The transmigration of the familiar bori is no more surprising than that of the soul, and that doctrine is generally accepted; in fact, the resemblance of some members of a certain generation to those of one no longer living is always apparent to the native, and he can explain the phenomenon only in this way. After all, by substituting the word "cell" for "soul," he will be absolutely correct in his theory of continuity. Now, ancestors are not always regarded as being friendly to their own family, although ready to help others of the clan against strangers, but that difficulty is more apparent than real, for they must be the ancestors of other survivors, and, generally speaking, they will be considered as being benevolent if properly revered, for, although it is said that God made man in His own image, it is really the other way about, at any rate with the Hausas, since when a really great and well-loved parent goes to his rest, it is easy to imagine that he becomes something more than mortal, and, of course, with greater power to help his own people.

Still, some may always be inimical, for it must be remembered that amongst many peoples, abortions, children dying undelivered in the mothers, and others become revengeful spirits, hoping to punish the community for their own sad fate, and I cannot help thinking that many of the "Little Spots" have arisen in this manner. The mothers dying in childbirth will likewise return for their babies. Then again there are the souls

which never have been bori, and these, though perhaps inclined to be friendly at first, may easily become hostile if no food is offered at their graves.

Numbers of the familiar bori do not return to human bodies at all. Of these some join the forest bori, and become the spirits which are also called *aljannu*, *iblisai*, or *iskoki*. In reality, there never was very much distinction between them, for the familiars, even when attached to a person, were always in the closest relationship with the others, and might even be temporarily dispossessed. But when once the connexion is lost, they begin to grow less careful of their clan, and even become inimical to individuals, though always ready to fight for the clan as a whole against a general enemy. Jato, as we have seen, was once an ornament to bori society, but, owing to his excesses, he is no longer looked upon with favour.

We have a mixture of two cults probably, one in which the ancestors were thought to be friendly, another in which the contrary was the idea, the familiar bori being the spirits of the former class, once souls, but degraded to a lower level in a subsequent generation. That this is not an extravagant notion is seen by a passage in Tylor, where he states that "in West Africa, manes-worship displays in contrast its two special types. On the one hand, we see the North Guinea negroes transferring the souls of the dead, according to their lives, to the rank of good and evil spirits, and if evil worshipping them the more zealously, as fear is to their minds a stronger impulse than love. On the other hand, in Southern Guinea, we see the deep respect paid to the aged during life, passing into worship when death has raised them to yet higher influence."⁸ That they should become disease-demons is not really strange, for they may be merely punishing

their descendants for lack of respect—as they did in life—or it may be even their love which causes them to want the survivors to come to them. In any case, the inference is quite natural when the members of a family die one after the other of some contagious or infectious disease. I had very great trouble in isolating patients during an outbreak of smallpox in Jemaan Daroro in 1909, for the people said that any thus treated would be angry—and their ghosts malignant, I presume, though they said sad. Ancestor-worship exists amongst the Hausas, as has been said, this being the reason why children are adopted by a childless couple to please the ancestors, and also to benefit themselves, and why offerings are placed upon the grave. The fact that some of the bori are called “father” and “mother” signifies nothing, for these are general terms of respect given to adults, but two other facts are very much to the point—namely, that some of the bori are patrons of industries, and that a few (*e.g.* Ba-Maguje) are still stated to have been actual men.

For convenience in tracing the bori, let us suppose that a pagan Hausa and his wife had been forced to leave their own town, for some reason or other, and had made up their minds to start afresh in a virgin spot—an event which has often happened in Hausa history.⁹ We can imagine the West African savage on his first arrival in an uninhabited spot, seeing great clouds of sand, if in the desert, overwhelming everything before them, or, if in the forest-belt, finding trees flourishing luxuriously, watered by the flooding of a river, perhaps, and, as no human agency is visible, ascribing the phenomena to local supernatural beings. It would be of no use to him to worship his ancient gods in a place where they had no power, so his old religion would be modified to conform with the new

conditions, and every mountain and rock, and still more every river, pool, and tree—where life was apparent—would be thought to be inhabited by a spirit which listened gladly to the pious pagan's prayers, and, in return for his offerings, allowed him to perform certain acts which otherwise would have been dangerous. Instances of all of the above have been given already, and whereas some of the rites (*e.g.* that of sacrificing a virgin to Dodo, the river-god or bogey) may have been brought from the north or east, animism is much too widely spread in West Africa to doubt that others are indigenous. At first, the nature-spirits might appear malignant, for the savage would not understand the risings of the river, perhaps, nor how to shelter himself from the storms which were of a kind quite new to him, but he would seek to propitiate the powers responsible, and, although his greater safety would be really due to his advance in bush-craft, he would attribute it to the acceptance of his worship. The rites of this would be upon the same lines as those performed for the spirits of his ancestors, for the means which seem to have proved efficacious in maintaining an enduring covenant between the living and the dead would be clearly the ones to be employed in binding together the worshipper and his God, and in time—the rites being identical—the distinction between the different kinds of spirits would be lost. More than that, as the generations increased, some ancestor would be regarded as being the god of the district, and the nature-gods which once held full sway would be relegated to an inferior position, becoming simultaneously of the same nature as the human forefather.

This might not be the only change, for instead of a man who had become the first god, we might get a god who had created the first man, and to him would be attributed also

the mountains, rivers, trees, and animals. As the people increased and conquered their neighbours, so also would the cult of the gods be propagated, those of the beaten tribe being absorbed or regarded as evil spirits, and at length we should find that the whole country was under one or more supreme gods, while lower in the scale would come a heterogeneous crowd of spirits from each district, some identified with each other (*e.g.* those of the same river), some being regarded as companion spirits (thus Ba-Toye and Gindema), while others would remain distinct, being worshipped properly only in their own districts—thus accounting for the fact that some bori are known in West but not in North Africa, and vice versa. In addition to these three (really but two) classes, there would be others formed by marriages between the members of each, liaisons between gods and men giving rise to heroes, those between men and evil spirits to devils¹⁰; and so even at this early stage there would be great confusion.

Let us suppose now that the settlement is attacked and conquered by a people practising "fetishism" or animatism, a very well-known aspect of West African religion. The idea is not put forth fantastically, for the inhabitants of the land of the fetish are in constant contact with the Hausa towns north of the Gold Coast, and this may give us a clue to the origin of the word bori.

In Sierra Leone, the Mendis have a devil *binni*, which rushes about during the ceremonies of initiation into the rites, and the members of one of the two sets of its satellites are called *bori*. They wear mitre-shaped caps resembling those of Kuri and others in the Hausa dances (see Ills. 8 and 44), and run in front of the *binni*, inviting him to follow them. A few women belong to the order, these being known as *mabori*.¹¹ Again, in Liberia, a

Vai girl before her initiation (during which—as in Sierra Leone—her clitoris is excised) is known as a *boni*, beforehand she is a *boroa*, while a youth goes to the *beri* institution for a few months for sexual initiation, or may stay there for years if he desires to learn all the secrets of the tribal freemasonry. Here again, the girls wear a peaked head-dress.¹² The Bwem word for children is *beleku*; in Ahanta male and female are rendered by *bekire* and *bale* respectively; boy in Nkoranza is *mberi*; child in Wala is *bile*; while the Wolof word *mbola* means association.¹³ In Songhay *bangou* and *benta* mean circumcision, while *bere* is to turn around, etc.¹⁴; the Efik for circumcision is *mbobi*, while *bre* means to bewitch and also to play.¹⁵ Lastly, amongst the Ibo-speaking peoples of Southern Nigeria, the word *belu* (from *be*) means to have circumcised.¹⁶ All this may seem a little vague, I must try to make my meaning clear.

The Bambaras, farther up the Niger, worship *gnena* (jinns) and *gna* or *boli*, spirits subject now to Allah. These classes are quite distinct, the former—of Arab origin—being white and good, the latter black and evil, and probably of local origin, although a legend says that they were brought from Mecca, this having been invented, thinks the author, in order to save the cult from suppression. Here again, circumcision and excision are practised, the boys wearing a peaked cap in this case, and the parts cut off are offered upon an altar to the spirits of the ancestors.¹⁷

Now the letter which in Kano is “r” is often “l” in Sokoto (nearer Bambara), and, in fact, *boli* is used instead of *bori* for a spirit, so if we can find any trace of fetishism in the Hausa cult, we may conclude that there is some connexion between it and that of the Bambara, not

surprising when it is remembered that Sarikin Rafi is not only "He of Daura" but also "Owner of Timbuktu." But, several of the spirits have a *tsere*, an inanimate object which they inhabit when not riding a human horse or mare (e.g. Sarikin Bakka's bow), and surely this is the link required, especially as the *tsere* is hardly known in North Africa (except, perhaps, as regards the water-spirits), whereas numbers of the bori are connected with special objects in Nigeria. A similar interchange of "l" and "r" takes place in Mendi, and in both that language and in Hausa, "b" is sometimes substituted for "p" or vice versa, so there may be some connexion even between bori and poro.¹⁸

I have quoted a few examples, all of which—if correctly transcribed—seem to show some similarity in the words for "initiate" and "circumcision," and even "dance" or "rite." Probably these could be greatly multiplied if vocabularies of all the West African languages were available, but Koelle and others do not give any of the words required, and although such reticence is quite intelligible, it is most unfortunate for me, especially when one considers the attention paid to such things by natives. Still, even these examples seem to indicate the existence of a widespread cult at one time.

In Babylon, the *baru* who were noted as seers at least as far back as the time of Hammurabi, consulted the gods by the inspection of the liver and entrails, and in other ways, and had their liturgical vestments, which they changed frequently during the ceremony. Whether these seers were supposed to be possessed by a "Ba'al" I have not been able to find out, but it is almost certain that they were, for oracles were given by inspired prophetesses in Babylon, and in any case there is no doubt in my mind

that bori and boli have been derived from Ba'al—or some form of it—*e.g.* Ba'lu, Bol, Bel, or Bar. Professor Robertson Smith tells us that the Baal was conceived as the male principle of reproduction, and his life-giving power was not limited to the vegetable kingdom, for to him also were ascribed the increase of the flocks and herds, and also of the human inhabitants. The word Ba'al was only a title, a general name, there were ba'als of animals, trees, streams, mountains and fetish-stones, and it seems to correspond in every way to bori, for, although the changes in letters may seem at first to be unlikely, the occurrence of the *ain* “ in words which have been definitely incorporated into the Hausa language [not in those merely borrowed] does not affect the pronunciation,” and, in fact, is often replaced by *alif*—which, later on, may be omitted altogether. The interchange of “l” and “r” has already been commented upon, as has also the Hausa aversion to ending a word in a consonant, so the derivation is quite possible and reasonable, though perhaps a much less elaborate origin is the correct one—namely, the simple change in the Egyptian word, bar.¹⁹

We have seen that young Hausa boys and girls were once shut up together in order to promote the fertility of the clan, and that bori rites were then taught. We have seen that a jigo or gausami was erected as a symbol of the prowess of the village youth in wrestling, during the preparation for which they had to be continent, while offerings were made near to it during the Fittan Fura, and that a pole was touched as a gesture of abuse—an important point, because many a survival lingers in such angry acts—while a perfectly true reference to the manner of a person's birth is the greatest insult possible.²⁰ Again, we have seen how the Semitic incubus and succuba found a place in

Hausa demonology. It would seem, therefore, as if the cult were phallic, originally ; the idea of the disease-demons being incorporated later on. This idea is confirmed in my mind by the facts that the common word for the male organ of generation is *bura*, an old word not used in polite society, and that the Hebrew word *bara* "created," has also a phallic signification.²¹ It has been seen that the women may wear trousers, and that the male dancers always wear cloths during the ceremonies. In Babylon "every woman was obliged by law to submit to the embrace of a stranger ; and the Phœnician worship of Astarte was no less distinguished by sacred prostitution, to which was added a promiscuous intercourse between the sexes *during certain religious fêtes, at which the men and women exchanged garments.*"²² Surely this gives us the clue, and the present custom and also the Fittan Fura are survivals.

That continency is now required of the Masu-Bori may be an altogether foreign idea, for, as we have seen in Nigeria, the sect was noted for its immorality, and finally, although Jato may have been an importation, some of his friends were most certainly pagan, and at the dance he and they go through the different stages of the sexual act. In fact, the tabu upon intimate relations may have nothing whatever to do with morality, for it has been found that amongst the Shilluk, before the requisite ceremony had been performed for the benefit of a man of whom Dag had taken possession, "the spirit would be so strong in his body that he would not dare to approach his women." Again it was recognised in ancient times that "though the gods, likewise, do not hear him who invokes them, if he is impure from venereal connexions, yet at the same time they do not refuse to lead anyone to illegal ventry."

Robertson Smith ascribes the tabu to the savage belief that "birth and everything connected with the propagation of the species on the one hand, and disease and death on the other, seem to him to involve the action of superhuman agencies of a dangerous kind." ²³

This is not a savoury subject, however, and we may close it by saying that the conclusion has forced itself upon me against my will, for, somehow, when one has studied a people for years, it is unpleasant to have to accuse them of a disreputable practice, however strong the evidence. The word "bori" is evidently an old one, for, even apart from any consideration of the examples from neighbouring languages, it will have been remarked that all spirits, no matter what their origin, are now simply *bori*. Still, although this shows that the *aljannu*, *iblisai* and *iskoki* were incorporated long after the original word had come to embrace all the local spirits, it does not prove that the cult had a local origin, and there is no doubt that a good deal of what now takes place in Nigeria—for no doubt the rites are still performed in secret—was once seen in Carthage, and even in Babylon.

CHAPTER XXX

THE ORIGIN OF DEMONS AND DEMON-DANCING (*continued*)

THERE is another factor of which we must not lose sight—that is, totemism. This arose, according to Salah, from a belief in spirits, and, although agreeing in the main idea with what Professor Robertson Smith has told us, the sequence is reversed, for, whereas Salah thinks that animals were revered because bori used to appear in their form, and that this went on even after the distinction between them had been made, the author of *The Religion of the Semites* holds that “the *jinn*, with all their mysterious powers, are mainly nothing else than more or less modernised representatives of animal kinds, clothed with the supernatural attributes inseparable from the savage conception of animate nature. A species of *jinn* allied by kinship with a tribe of men would be indistinguishable from a totem kind, and instead of calling the *jinn* gods without worshippers, we may with greater precision speak of them as potential totems without human kinsfolk.”¹

But that has made us anticipate a little. It will have been noticed that the powers of beasts and bori in the folk-lore are the same, for animals can appear as human beings just as easily as spirits can transform themselves into men or beasts, both are organised in the same manner as are their worshippers, and sometimes it is an animal (a snake), sometimes a bori (Dodo), which mates with a human being. The spirits help man in a miraculous manner, it is true, but there are also wonderful animals which can

confer similar benefits, and this happens whether the patron is alive or dead, for, whereas the efficacy of an animal's skull as a charm has been already commented upon, it will not be forgotten that the head of a young aljan is an excellent thing for producing conception in a woman.²

Witchcraft is known to both kingdoms, for the wizard bori of Jan Gari can catch the shadows of their victims in exactly the same manner as do people on earth, so we are not surprised to hear that the hyena can fascinate another animal, or, by treading upon his shadow, render a man incapable of movement or sound.

Again, we often find that bori and wild beasts act together, the virgin spots of land being haunted by both in combination, and this is particularly the case where treasure is concerned, the approach to the Money-Tree, Jato, being guarded "by phantoms—fearful men and animals, leopards, hyænas, and enormous snakes." The jinns often had animal characteristics ; thus amongst the Arabs, the Queen of Sheba is said to have had hair upon her ankles, this showing her to be a *jinniyah*, whilst some people amongst the Sabeans worshipped demons which they thought took the form of goats.³ The jinns have keen sight and smell, and swift movement, and there is no doubt that the reason of making blood offerings to them was that wild beasts ate uncooked prey. Finally, if further proof be needed, a conclusive one is at hand, for the bogey Dodo appears at various times as a spirit, a giant, an animal, or a bird, and his attributes resemble also those of the witch. Ultimately, amongst the Semites, the only animals directly and constantly identified with jinn were snakes and other noxious creeping things, and, though this is not yet the case with the Hausas—the authority of certain utterances

of Mohammed having had a share in the limitation in the case of the Arabs, from whom some of the jinns have been borrowed—the snake is the principal animal left, and naturally so, because it still haunts human habitations, whereas most of the other animals have been driven away. Since the hyena is so frequent a guest in Nigeria, one would look for a similar exception in the case of that animal also, and the peculiar beliefs regarding it meet the expectation. The reason why the snake occupies so important a place amongst the Hausas is no doubt on account of the widespread worship of that reptile in West Africa, though whether the Hausas regard it, like others, as the symbol of the male principle is not clear. Many clans claim it as their totem, a special mode of sacrifice is in vogue (eggs and milk), and last, but not least, it is the personification of the evil eye. Whether it is the serpent itself or the spirit in it which is worshipped, I cannot say. Each of these opinions has been put forward with regard to other peoples in West Africa, and I feel inclined to believe that both ideas exist in the minds of the Hausas, for, whereas Mai-Ja-Chikki is the snake, Dan Musa is said by some to be the spirit in the snake.

So much for the common origin of the totem and the bori. Why should the ultimate result be to regard one class as friendly, while the other remains inimical? The reason is fairly clear. The Hausa admired strength and cunning, and, since the beast often overcame his human opponent, the latter naturally regarded it as having powers beyond his own. Possibly too, the tale of the deception of an animal or man by a pair of tortoises, or other competitors which seemed to run a race backwards and forwards (each one of the pair merely appearing at its own end of the course, and not moving from the spot) really represents

the savage idea, and that when one lion had been met far away and another near home, they were supposed to be the same. From such accidents marvellous tales of cunning and powers of movement would arise, and it is extremely likely that at some time or other something would happen which would make it seem as if the lion had been helping the man.

Now, as the people increased in numbers and became better armed, and as the land came more and more under cultivation, the fear of the wild beasts would grow less, because they would not be an ever-present danger. More than that, the ancestor-god, as we have seen, would come to be regarded as god of the district, and so bring the animals under his sway. But since all strangers would be enemies, all friends would be relatives, and a time would come when the man considered the animal to be of the same blood as himself. After some generations, as men advanced in the scale, the tales of adventures with animals would glorify some of them still further, and by-and-by the ancestor-god would be regarded as having been an animal ; this is still observable amongst some of the Magazawa. Finally, as men rose still higher, the human idea would prevail, and the god would become anthropomorphic, though with certain animal connexions, at any rate at first, so the priestly king as his representative would still be called by the name of the totem. In the above, the totem has been described as an animal, but, of course, it need not be, for, as we have seen, trees are common, and several are represented even now at the dances.

As for the general body of animals never regarded as being friendly, vague stories are remembered of them, and so, although certain ones gradually become distinct and separate, we have left the phantom invisible evil

jinn or bori always ready and anxious to do a person harm.

We have seen how the dead become bori, we may look for a moment at some of the spirits imported from the north and east, and in order to keep to our scheme, let us now imagine two more invasions, this time from the north and east—as, in fact, we know that they did come—the new arrivals being from the countries of Asben and Bornu. We have heard a good deal about the City of the Jinns, but that it should be in the desert near to Hausaland is only natural, probably the Arab slavers are responsible, so we may pass over that point without comment. The fact that two at least of the characters are of Asben origin is more important, but we may still look ahead, to the people who introduced certain spirits to Asben, from even farther north. As to those from Bornu, they would be most interesting, but beyond the fact that there is a form of bori possession called *kwaga* in that country, we unfortunately know nothing. The cult of Magiro may have reached Hausaland from that direction, for we have several other bori which originated there, but we shall have to turn our attention to countries farther off—namely, to North Africa and to the country west of the North Egyptian Sudan.

In several Arabic legends, the eccentric movements of dust whirlwinds are accounted for as being the signs of battle between two clans of jinns, and some, if not all of these, would be hostile. The bori supposed to be mounted are now regarded as fighting spirits, but this may be due simply to the fact that the ancient inhabitants were conquered by mounted men. The Yorubas have a god which is supposed to drive out the evil influences, and, in form, he is comparable to some reliefs of a “Cavalier God” found in various parts of North Africa, possibly to be

identified with Bacchus, in his rôle of promoter of civilisation, and lover of peace, and guardian of Moham-medanism.⁴ At any rate, the spirit was not a local one, for horses are not indigenous in West Africa. This is not the only instance, for the goddess of hunting and of fertility is represented as kneeling, with her hands above her head, holding a calabash, and here again we see some resemblance to Neith or Tanith—the Yorubas claim to have come from Egypt. However, one must not build upon such a fact, for it is only natural to represent a goddess of fertility with some signs of her produce, though it is worth noting in support of the argument which follows.

We have now left the foreign jinns, and are amongst the nature-gods, which, however, become bori when introduced into Hausaland. The Legend of Daura tells us that at some time or other a youth came (from Bornu in one version) and killed the spirit of the well, Dodo, which is variously described as being a monster, a wild beast, a snake, or a bird, and we can easily recognise in him an animal bori such as has been described a little way back. The cult has been called fetishism, but I think that there is little doubt that it was that of a male Astarte, or rather of the Libyan goddess, Neith, who was worshipped along the whole of the Nile Valley at one time, and, of course, in North Africa.

It has been recognised for some time that some of the old Hausa rites resemble those of Astarte, and one of the suggested derivations of the word "Hausa" is that it comes from Housal (one of the early kings of Egypt), a servant of Astarte. But although inviting, this is not necessary to our purpose, because practically the same rites were to be seen at Carthage, and, since Tanith was hailed by the Phœnician colonists as corresponding to

their own Istar, or Astarte, it is probable that they further increased the resemblance in the services. After the Roman conquest, however, Tanith seems to have become more definitely Libyan again, though since certain parts of the ritual of Tanith had spread across the Mediterranean (*e.g.* the Yuyu or cry of the priestesses), and Astarte had entered Egypt, it is only natural that there would not be much change in the worship.

These goddesses were not actually equated at first, apparently, for in the museum at Carthage is the record of the dedication of a temple to the Ladies Astarte and Tanith in Lebanon (Carthage), but we also find one to Astarte-Tanith, and it would seem that Astarte was gradually merged into Tanith. In fact, according to Professor Robertson Smith, the Carthaginian Great-Mother was identical with Tanith Artemis, the Heavenly Virgin—or rather the unmarried goddess—and identical with Dido, the foul type of worship in each case being consequent upon the conception of the goddess as being polyandrous. Augustine speaks indignantly of the incredible obscenity of the songs which accompanied the worship of the Carthaginian Mother-Goddess, and we know that the priestesses of Istar did not marry, but were free to love as they pleased, like their goddess, whose amours were as numerous as they were notorious. Once each year the women wept and tore their hair in memory of the death of the sun-god, and Istar was said to descend into Hades to bring him to life again—this corresponding to the Hausa story of the Young Giant and his Lover (H.S.C., No. 99). It does not follow, however, that the founders of Carthage were wholly responsible for the rites in that city, in spite of the similarity of them to those in their own country, for the general laxity on the point of female chastity in

people who worship an unmarried goddess has always been characteristic of North Africa.⁵

The legend of the killing of the spirit is not peculiar to Daura, and, occurring as it does also in Songhay, it may well point to the suppression of a local cult. A similar sacrifice to a water-spirit once existed in the Eastern Sudan.⁶ It seems to me that it indicates a change—namely, the abolition of the sacrifice of young virgins, and what makes it certain that this explanation is correct is the fact that in another version of the legend, the hero, Andi Baba, saves the virgin from death, and causes the custom to be discontinued. But the cult was not quite abolished, for a survival of it still continues, and, as will be seen, the ancient monster is now, with Tanith, the bori Sarikin Rafi.

The names of many snake-worshipping tribes in the West Sudan consist of *sa* or *so*, in combination with other letters. But *sa* or *za*, alone or in combination, also meant chief, and rulers with these names are said to have come from the east, Sa, a younger son of Misraim or Menes, the earliest historic king of Egypt, being given the district bordering the Fezzan route to the desert. Sa was not an uncommon name for a prince in Egypt, for Sa-ab was a Horus name of Nekau, and Sa-Ra means "Son of Ra," but if the Sa mentioned above really stands for serpent, the legend appears to be merely a statement that serpent-worship extended at one time right into Egypt—as, of course, it did—in fact, the king third in succession to Misraim is denoted by Zy, which may indicate that he was a serpent-king—and that it was driven out to the west. A Za is said to have come from the east to Songhay, and to have killed the monster there, just as did Auta in Nigeria. But what did the word Za mean?

In *The Niger and the West Sudan* I tried to show that

it was not necessarily "serpent," but was more likely to be "chief" or "king," and the Abbé Henry goes even further. "As certain Bantu races," he says, "worship the snake, Europeans have been ready to see in the word *sa* the translation 'serpent.' (So far as the Bambara are concerned) this is a gross and radical mistake," and he points out that whereas the word *sa* used in invocations has a hard "s," the consonant in the name of the snake is soft, and the former designates the divinity, the snake never having been regarded as such.

There seems to be a difference, therefore, though it would be difficult to make a like distinction in Hausa, because the "s" and "z" are sometimes—though rarely—interchanged, so we must look elsewhere for an explanation. In the first division of the Book of Pylons—written to adjust the cult of Ra to that of Osiris—is a representation of (*inter alia*) the Boat of the Sun, and in it is seen a disc containing the beetle and encircled by a serpent holding its tail in its mouth, while in the bows stands the god Sa. The serpent here seems to symbolise eternal life, not snake-worship, but since Sa, together with Hu, sprang from drops of blood which fell from the phallus of Ra (though I do not suggest Hu-Sa), and Sa, the Intelligence, was one of the kas of Ra, there seems to be another theory possible, for elsewhere it has been found that the same word means both "life" and "bull."

In the Songhay version, the hero who kills the bogey bore the name of Za, probably seen later in Mansa, a chief, the hard "z" being softened. In Daura, he was known as Makass-Sariki (the killer of Sariki), and it is quite probable that, as time went on, the first word was dropped—just as usually happens in our Captain-General—and so Sariki, "The Seizer," became Sariki "The chief," a not impossible

change, since the reigning chief is even now called Mai-Chi, and the word for snake is ma-chi-je. Now, it would be exceedingly strange for invaders who worship a serpent to abolish local cults of that reptile—unless the rites were wholly different—and it is much more likely that they worshipped something else, particularly as the serpent-cult cannot be traced to any local origin, but has arisen spontaneously, according to the late Lord Avebury, and, in fact, if snake-charmers were brought to Egypt from West Africa, as some have stated, the cult could hardly have come from the land of the Pharaohs. In any case, the worship of serpents must have been known centuries before A.D. 1000, the date ascribed to the Hausa advance-guard.

It seems much more satisfactory to regard the za or sa who killed the local monster as being identical with the bull, and the Hausa as its worshipper. Some upholders of the snake story have said that the name Hausa is the plural of Sa, but I have never been able to admit this (although it would suit the theory now put forth), and think that "Children of Sa," or "Worshippers of Sa," is much more probable, especially if Hannibal means "Servant of Ba'al." This does not do away with the difficulty of the derivation of Ba-Haushe, however, which certainly seems to mean mixed, a verb *hautsina* having that signification. It is not at all improbable that the singular and plural are of distinct origins, a not uncommon circumstance, as is noted in my *Hausa Folk-Tales*.⁷

As has been said, Tanith and Baal Hammon became gradually confused, and, as Baal Hammon became more and more a sun-god, Tanith became the goddess of the moon, so the curved bull-horns of the god were given her to represent the crescent, sometimes resting upon the sun's

disc, sometimes bending over or embracing it. But these are very signs of the present water-spirit, Sarikin Rafi.

This requires some proof. Another name for the spirit is Ba-Daure, Citizen of Daura, or Born in Daura, while he is also known as Mai-Tumbutu, Owner of Timbuktu, so his worship in the west is almost as widely spread as was that of Neith in Egypt, and naturally so since he is the spirit of fertility, the giver of rain, as was she. Another name for Sarikin Rafi is *Zugu*; a shuttle is the idiogram for Neith. Tanith's symbol was a crescent moon embracing the disc of the sun. An approximation to this—exactly the same as some of the Carthaginian drawings—is visible in the spear of Sarikin Masu, and as great a resemblance is seen between Sarikin Rafi's own weapon and Tanith's brooch.⁸ I have already drawn attention (Chapter V.), to the prevalence of the "Crocodile of the Town" upon the human body, and a difficulty will have been noticed, for the crocodile cult was associated with Neith, and in Egypt young virgins were sacrificed to the Nile just as they were to rivers in Hausaland, while the test of legitimacy at Kabbi seems to imply that the crocodile was worshipped there at some time or other. The only conclusion I can come to is that either the cult of the reptile—like that of the serpent—arose spontaneously, as it well might do, being a totem, or else that the cult of Neith was introduced in early times—we can hardly imagine it as being fresh in A.D. 1000—and that it was afterwards replaced by that of Baal and Tanith, in which the sacrifice to a water-spirit found no place, the victims being offered to the antagonistic element, fire. The wearing of an amulet or the scarifying of a design of the animal is not at all strange, for this practice was probably introduced by the followers of Tanith—the amulet is quite

common in Portugal—though it may have existed previously since the crocodile or lizard was sacred to the sun.⁹

Neith's symbol may have been a hatchet originally, however. Is there any sign of that in Sarikin Rafi's weapon? Just as much as in some of Tanith's, might be the reply, and it is not so vague as it appears to be, for the symbol has been found much farther off than is the bori's domain—namely, in Southern Nigeria, where "on every hand, indications are to be found . . . of a form of worship which carries us back to the oldest known Minoan civilisation, and links the belief of the present day Ekoi with that of the ancient Phœnician, the Egyptian, the Roman, and the Greek." A painting of a double-headed axe lying horizontally across a knobbed sceptre, over which is an Ekoi feather, is a representation of the mystic marriage of earth and sky, "and so in the course of the ages, strangely enough, Mother Earth has become Father Earth in Ekoi legend."¹⁰

We have seen that the conquerors brought the horse to Daura, but Tanith was always connected with this animal, and perhaps the fact that the Masu-Bori are called *doki* and *godiya* is a survival of this fact. In *The Niger and the West Sudan* I ascribed the place of origin of the Hausas to the district of Meroë, I might have been more correct had I said Siwa, but, in any case, there seems to be but little doubt, from their language, their religion, and their customs, that the Hausas were a mixture of Hamitic and Semitic elements, probably tempered by the addition of a little Egyptian blood.

It has been said that *sa* means a bull, and that the Hausas brought the bull cult with them, and perhaps the foregoing will be sufficient to show that Tanith replaced, or rather, absorbed, the water-spirit. If not, I have one more

cartridge in the chamber. One title of the Manipur chiefs is Hao-sa, " Rich in cattle," and this is extremely interesting, but what is more useful for our present purpose is the fact that, as Major Merrick has pointed out, many tribes call the people not " Hausa," but " Afunu," in fact that the names were almost equally common, and he says that Barth suggests that the name originated from a king of Kano. If so, the king must have been the first one, because the people are widely known by the name. In other words, it was Ba-Goda—probably Ba-Guda, the " Maker of Cries " peculiar to Tanith. This statement of Merrick's fits in exactly with my theory of the nature of the invasion, for, whereas in one part the hero is called Sa (a bull), in another the king is known as Afunu, and in Berber—or at least the Dwirat dialect of that tongue—*afunas* means " a bull." ¹¹

That a goddess should become a god is not wonderful. A change of sex is apparent in the case of Sarikin Rafi, and it is by no means uncommon, for, in so far as religion keeps pace with the new laws of morality due to the change from polyandry to polygamy, the independent divine mother becomes the subordinate partner of a male deity unless her supremacy is too well established, in which case she changes her sex. Or where a male god is already established, she may gradually be merged into him. But, after all, the change of sex may have been made before the cult reached Hausaland. Woman was equal to man in the Sumerian family, and consequently the female spirit was as powerful as the male, acting independently and possessing the same attributes. The Semites, who borrowed Istar, could not understand this, so among the Canaanites she became Ashtoreth, the Moon—the consort and reflection of Ba'al the Sun-God—the Southern Arabians

transformed her into a male god, while amongst the Moabites she became merged in Chemosh or Shamash. A similar fate awaited her—or rather Tanith—in Carthage, for gradually she came to be known as Tanith with Ba'al's face, or the Bearded Goddess, while an inscription has been found on one of the cippi, "To my Lord Tanith."

At the same time, the rites were not wholly changed, for religious tradition has often refused to move forward with the progress of society, the goddess or god retaining the old character as a mother who was not a wife—and consequently not bound to fidelity—and so at her sanctuary she still protected, under the name of religion, the sexual licence which had always characterised her worship. Single women, therefore, could always find support for immorality, while in the case of those wishing to become wives, the god or goddess required the previous sacrifice of their chastity or their hair before binding themselves to that conjugal fidelity which was, of course, contrary to the religion of the deity concerned.¹²

There is one more point. Sarikin Rafi was once chief of the spirits, but was so cruel that he was deposed by Mallam Alhaji, probably another aspect of Baal Hammon, always associated with Tanith. What does this mean but that until the advent of the new cult the water-spirit was the chief divinity? That the votaries of the new religion regarded with horror the sacrifice of children to a water-spirit while upholding that to Baal Hammon is no more surprising than the fact that the Roman Catholic Spaniards considered tortures inflicted by their "Holy" Inquisition to be quite justified although they sternly suppressed anything of the kind—also done in the name of religion—amongst the native Americans. That the followers of the new and purified cult should fiercely suppress the old

rites can hardly be strange to students of even English history.

Probably other gods were introduced as well, the crocodiles may not all have been local totems, though the animal is the patron of at least one clan still, certainly the name Ibrahima is of eastern origin, the title Dodo being prefixed to Hausaise him, as it were. Many of the beasts (lion) and birds (crow) were totems, and their presence at the rites may be accounted for in that way, but so far I have not heard of a clan owing to the vulture, and, though absence of information is very far from being proof, it is not impossible that the bori Angulu is not Hausa, but is the representative of the Arabian Nasr, and that she has compatriots also in the temple. Or it may be simply that she also represents Tanith.

The possession by an animal spirit is not always connected with totemism, therefore. In Abyssinia a person may imagine himself to be possessed by a hyena spirit, and behave in every way as does that animal. "One woman fancied she would like a little donkey-flesh ; so to satisfy her strange taste she seized hold by her teeth to the hinder part of one which happened to be near. Off went the astonished beast at a pace that nothing in the form of persuasion will lead him to adopt for the gratification of man. Off, too, clinging tight with her teeth to his haunches, went the frenzied girl." The exorcist makes the patient smell a rag in which a bone of a hyena and other things are tied—just as the Hausa in Nigeria holds out a bone—and after this a sacrifice is made, some fragments from the feast being buried for the demon should it return. In the Straits Settlements, a monkey-spirit may take possession of a person, causing him or her to behave like the animal.¹³

We are upon safer ground when we come to the mallams, and although at first sight we may wonder that saints and evil spirits are confused together, the position may become clearer when we remember that saints are in a way ancestors, and also that the marabout and the magician use somewhat similar means to produce the same results. But really the dead saints become spirits capable of doing not only good but evil—as we have seen in the case of the person who ignores their shrines. They visit each other, and can be heard talking just as could Mai-Bille's bori. Indeed, in Egypt at least one can appear in the shape of a serpent, and cure the diseases of pilgrims to his shrine, and elsewhere in North Africa there are "saints" who cause paralysis, impotence, and sudden death, while a female (surely a suffragette) will burn a house on the slightest provocation ! ¹⁴ As with us, the shrines are often built near a pagan well or tree, and gradually the worship is transferred to the saint—perhaps quite as imaginary as the former spirit. Again, the danger let loose at the ziara is comparable in all respects to that from the bori at the dances, and the sacrifices are the same. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Hausa in Nigeria saw no difference, and incorporated the saints into the bori cult, giving them the Hausa title, *mallam*. In North Africa, however, the local marabouts are still distinct, and while Sidi Sa'ad's rank is a high one, Abd El Khadari seems to be destined for a much more enviable position, for, in addition to the attention at his shrine, he has a special niche in the bori temple.

As for the "Little Spots," they are probably untimely births, we find evidence of them in Assyria, and, according to Rabbinic traditions, "an infant cut or torn at birth, a miscarriage, or born alive at the eighth month, or born

dead at the ninth—all the religious ceremonies do not apply to it.” The Jews believed that such misfortunes were due to an ulterior cause, and, according to the legends of their later demonology, devils were not so much fallen angels as immature mortals.¹⁵

As was said at the commencement of the preceding chapter, demons are not new to us, and the belief that some people are possessed by them at times is world-wide, so many people since David’s time have “forgotten themselves.” The rites of divination and exorcism seem to be similar in all parts of the globe, and everywhere magic has been medicine’s greatest enemy, for when diseases were supposed to be due to spirits, no attention was paid to the patient’s body since the only thing necessary or useful was to persuade the spirit to leave it. The priest when in a state of exaltation was “not himself,” so when any other person behaved unnaturally, he supposed that a similar influence was at work, both possession and obsession being traced to a bori. In Australia, the victim is struck upon the back of the neck—the favourite seat of the Hausa bori. In New Zealand the spirit, often an infant, gnaws the vitals of a sick relative, and the exorcist has to get it on to a flax-stalk in order to send it off home—in North Africa, Dakaki is shown the hole in a drum. Another common method was to tie a piece of cotton or string to the patient, the other end being made fast to the victim to be sacrificed, and a survival of this is to be seen in the case of Mai-Gangaddi, who is shown a piece of cotton.¹⁶ All over the world we find that the persons possessed foam at the mouth, talk in unnaturally hoarse voices, roll their eyes, perform acts of apparently supernatural strength, and seem to be indifferent to torture. In India, amongst the Holiyas, Bhuta-dances are held at

certain festivals, and "sometimes a rope is tied around their waist and they are held like infuriated wild animals."¹⁷ The Zulu feels a heavy weight creeping up to his shoulders, then songs come to him which he has never learnt, he floats in the air, and he sees things which are no longer there when he "comes to himself" again. In Patagonia, Dan Kano would have become a priest long ago. In the West Indies, the exorcist puts himself into communication with the spirits by snuffing cohoba powder, and then he affirms that he is talking with the *cemis*, who tell him what has happened. Snuffing, smoking, or drinking brings on the state all over the world, and naturally so, since these drugs excite the nerves. Sometimes music alone is sufficient, the sound of the drum and some preliminary dancing having the same effect in Ceylon as in Nigeria. A few people do not require even this aid, and, just as the Fijian steadfastly regards a whale's tooth until he has gone into convulsions, so do Haj Ali and Salah induce hysteria by movements of their hands. The sacrifices too are the same. In Ceylon, the demon will say to the exorcist "I am So-and-So, I demand a human sacrifice, and will not go without." So the victim is promised, the patient comes to from the fit, and later on the sacrifice is made—but a fowl suffers instead of a human being.

The ordinary spirit possession then is an everyday affair, coming on naturally, or being brought on by movement, music, or a narcotic, but I have not seen in any book an indication that a long cast of characters behaves in a special set manner for each different spirit, as is the case with the Masu-Bori. Perhaps there has never been much more than the mere excitement and oracular speech with most other peoples, and yet this seems unlikely—though but few of the writers whose works I have seen have

recorded anything further—for it is only natural that by-and-by particular steps should be associated with individual spirits, especially where they have become great gods with distinct powers. The bori performance includes both the Arab *zikk* (in which the dancers stand in line, and gradually work themselves into a frenzy by swaying their bodies about, and by calling upon Allah) and the *zar* (possession by a spirit which makes the person comatose, and refuses to leave until the victim has been given a present), yet it is much more, for there is no representation of any special actions in either of these. Magajiya and some others whirl like the dervishes, and bori dancing generally resembles the rite of the Aisawias to a great extent, for they also represent the movements of several animals; and here too the performers torture themselves, and seem to feel no pain. Still, there seems to be no great festival during which scores of spirits are represented as is the case amongst the Hausas, and we must look for another cause than that of the people running amuck.

We must attribute the origin to a desire to get something from the spirit, I think, the latter being forced to come and listen to his worshippers when his proper movements were performed, and whereas the rite is now comparable to inoculation against disease, that idea was probably not the moving principle of the original cult, for, although disease demons were exorcised then as now, it is probable that the nature-gods were summoned so that prayers might be made to them—such a practice still surviving in the case of Doguwa and a few others. With the advent of Islam, however, these spirits would lose some of their importance, and would have to fall into line with the others, for Mohammed recognises the jinns though not the nature-gods, and so at the present day, all

are summoned so that they may torment those people who are prepared for them, and thus be more likely to leave the rest of the community in peace.

The power of summoning the bori by means of the proper words and names has been noticed in Chapter XVIII., so that they should be influenced by actions is not surprising. During a game of bowls one will often see the man who has just sent down his ball still kneeling, with his hand stretched out, and, at last turning it stiffly over in the direction of the bias, trying, as it were, to aid the bowl, even to force it in the required direction. While amusing to a European onlooker, such an act would be absolutely intelligible to a Hausa—and to our remote forefathers. As the bori cult progressed, there would be a separate dancer for each spirit honoured (as is now almost always the case),¹⁸ and it is only natural to suppose that each Mai-Bori would try to introduce something from outside, both so as to outvie the others, and also in order that he or she might have a monopoly of that particular rite. But there would be a real wish to honour the spirit too, and as soon as set steps had become recognised, the subsequent dancers would have to learn them, and would not be allowed to make any alteration. I am inclined to think that the present dances are mere survivals of much more complicated magical performances, for, as other cults were being grafted on to the old one, an average would gradually establish itself. As they are religious ceremonies, they have persisted, for religion is always conservative, and no doubt they will continue for many years more, if allowed, on account of the profits earned by the professors. The dances are exciting and interesting, even in their present form, and probably no similar performance in the whole world can boast such a lengthy

cast of characters, but what must they have been in the olden days in unknown savage Africa ?

History always repeats itself, of course, and yet it is strange to think that many of the ancient rites which were taken from Carthage to Kano—or perhaps even from Babylonia to the Benue—should be re-established in their old home by those strange peoples upon whom they had been forced. Unwilling converts they were at first, no doubt, but the seeds of the new religion fell upon exceptionally favourable ground, and the Hausas and others have so combined the whole that even the local marabouts and other magicians are often considered to have a less extensive mastery of magic than that possessed by the Masu-Bori from the Black Country in West Africa.

THE END

APPENDIX I

NOTES AND REFERENCES

IN the following notes and references, H.S.C. stands for *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*; H.F.-T. for *Hausa Folk-Tales (in Hausa)*; T.H.H. for *The Tailed Head-Hunters of Nigeria*; A.-A.N.A. for *Some Austral-African Notes and Anecdotes*; and N.W.S. for *The Niger and the West Sudan*.

CHAPTER I

¹ Spirits receive the attention. According to *The Times* (1st Oct. 1913), the Bishop of London, referring to the Invocation of Saints, said, at the last Church Congress: "As history had shown, it was easy to slip from asking for prayer to asking for help, and such help as could come alone from God. Might they never see in their Church papers such a notice as appeared elsewhere, 'Thanks to such-and-such a saint for curing my sore throat; publication promised.' Could superstition go much lower, to say nothing of the vulgarity of the suggestion contained in the last two words?"

According to *The Daily Mail*, the Bishop quoted the belief of some of his friends:

" 'What is your idea?' the Bishop said he asked one who was keenly alive to what he thought was the comfort

and help he derived from invoking the prayers of this great cloud of witnesses. 'Does it not take away from the honour you pay to Jesus Christ?' 'Not at all,' he warmly replied. 'I approach my Lord throned in glory, but as I walk up to Him I walk through a line of saints and angels, and feeling my infirmity and the Holiness of the Presence I approach I cry from side to side as I walk up, 'Pray for me, pray for me. Of your mercy grant me your prayers.'

"Yet I would plead for the revival of a belief in the great doctrine of the Communion of Saints."

Surely this is not far removed from the Hausa idea, and it is no wonder that Sir E. Clarke said (*The Times*, 3rd Oct. 1913) that such a doctrine had been universally condemned by those who represented the National Church. In any case, the Bishop ought to be safe, since he wears horns—his mitre. See Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 186.

² Ba-Maguje.—I have always maintained that the name "Ba-Haushe" (a Hausa) comes from a term of contempt bestowed upon them by the Arabs on account of their mixed origin, though there need not be any more connexion between them and the Abyssinians than there is between the Kafirs of South Africa and of India. The words Ba-Haushe and Hausawa show the same changes as Ba-Maguje and Magazawa, and there is no doubt about the origin of the name in this case—the Magazawa did not come from Persia.

³ The ban of the bori. The title was not chosen hurriedly, but because the word "ban" seemed to contain all the different ideas. According to the late Professor Robertson Smith (*The Religion of the Semites*, p. 454), "the ban is a form of devotion to the deity, and so the verb 'to ban' is sometimes rendered 'consecrate'

(Micah iv. 13) or 'devote' (Lev. xxvii. 28 *seq.*). But in the oldest Hebrew times it involved the utter destruction, not only of the persons involved, but of their property. . . . Such a ban is a taboo, enforced by the fear of supernatural penalties (1 Kings xvi. 34), and, as with taboo, the danger arising from it is contagious (Deut. vii. 26 ; Josh. vii.) ; he that brings a devoted thing into his house falls under the same ban himself." To ban a spirit means to bind it, to prevent it from doing harm. Lastly, in an ancient Assyrian incantation (quoted by R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 97), we find :

" A ban of evil hath settled on his body,
And evil disease on his body have they cast."

CHAPTER II

¹ Origin of the world and of men. According to the Koran and Sale's notes (pp. 4, 389), Allah created the earth during the first two days of the week from the smoke arising from the waters under His throne. Then mountains were made to steady it, and food was provided for the future inhabitants in two more days. Then He created the heavens on the Thursday from that portion of the smoke which had risen above the earth, and on the Friday He made the sun, moon, and stars, Adam appearing in the evening. Adam's creation caused some trouble. The angels Gabriel, Michael, and Israfil were sent by Allah to fetch seven handfuls of earth from different depths and of various colours (accounting for the skin shades of men), but the earth, fearing that the creature to be made would

rebel against Allah and perhaps bring His wrath upon her also, prevailed upon them to leave the command unexecuted. Azrael, however, had no compunction, and afterwards was appointed to separate the souls from the bodies—*i.e.* he became the Angel of Death. The earth, after having been kneaded by the angels, was fashioned by Allah into human form, and left to dry for forty days—or years. The angels visited it, and so did Iblis, who kicked it. The clay was afterwards given a soul, and later on Eve was formed out of the left side (*ib.* p. 4). All others were formed of congealed blood except Jesus (*ib.* p. 400). According to a Mohammedan tradition, Adam's soul was created thousands of years before his clay body, and it refused to enter this until God forced it in through the nose—thus causing him to sneeze (*Jewish Encyclopædia*, p. 178).

After quoting similar accounts of the creation of man in Babylonian lore, Mr Thompson comes to the conclusion that in this method of changing one material into something more valuable we may see the prototype of that goal of every wizard of the Middle Ages, the Philosopher's Stone (*Semitic Magic*, p. 20).

² Curse. Neither could a blessing have been revoked (see the story resembling that of Isaac blessing Jacob, H.S.C., pp. 140, 141).

³ Noah's Ark. According to some, Ashura is the anniversary (Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 526). It is also claimed that the ark actually grounded in Bornu, see N.W.S., p. 69, and *Chiefs and Cities of Central Africa*, pp. 205-210, from which the following is taken:—"Dawn found us at the edge of the lake (Chad) gazing out across the little bay at Hajet el Hamis, which, though actually but a few hundred feet in

height, seems a veritable mountain in that sandy plain, where for several days' journey these rocks are the only eminence. One hill, the highest, stands alone, and it was here that the Ark rested when the Flood subsided. If there are any sceptics who demand proof thereof, let them go to Hajer el Hamis with eyes open to the evidence of birds and beasts, for these could hardly have found their way there in such variety and number had it not been for their historic origin. The name of the surrounding country, too, bears its testimony to the past : Bornu, Bur-Noah—the land of Noah.

“ As the name Hajer-el-Hamis denotes, it is a place of pilgrimage. . . . The summit was very narrow, and on the pinnacle was a perched rock, supported at the corners by small stones. Though this formation is not unusual in Northern Nigeria, there was no similar example in these hills ; and as it looked like an ordinary cairn, I supposed that someone must have preceded us there. The natives, however, adhered to their statement that no man had ever climbed the peak. . . . Perhaps, after all, Noah and his sons had made one [a cairn, *cf.* Gen. xxxi. 44-46] here in honour of their landing.” Again : “ Till comparatively recently Lake Chad surrounded the hills, there are traces of water action as high as 50 ft. upon them. Now the lake has receded, and not only the high lonely peak where Noah first set foot, but the group of rocks with the sacrificial cave, stand in a desert of sand.”

The belief is so fixed and widespread that one wonders if some tribe did originate upon the hills, being descended from some ancestor (now confounded with Noah), who arrived in a canoe—some of the Buduma families have arisen thus—but it is hardly likely that it was the Hausa folk. The people probably did live either right up on top

of the mountains, or else along the river banks at first so as to have the better means of defence or escape, we find exactly similar conditions existing in Nigeria to-day.

CHAPTER III

¹ Organisation. See H.S.C., pp. 97-99.

² The dried skull. The head is particularly valuable. In some countries of West Africa (*e.g.* Whida) it is the most sacred part of the pagan's anatomy, and the Mohammedan, wherever he is, regards his turban as a diadem. The Arabian rule against washing or anointing the head is not ascetic, but is simply a consequence from the inviolability of the head, which must not be touched in a way that might detach hairs (Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 485). Possibly, with the Hausa, at any rate, the sacredness of the head may be connected with the fact that the bori mount it. In North Africa a camel's head is sometimes tied up in a palm-tree as a charm for fertility. The site of Carthage is related to have been fixed by the discovery of a horse's head. The magical use of a dried head had a great vogue amongst the Semites, hares' heads being worn as amulets by women (Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 381). Dried dogs' heads are mentioned in a later chapter as having magical powers.

³ Auta told me that some of the Bebeyi of Zaria used to keep a fish prisoner in a pot in a hut for a year, and at the end of that time to substitute another, putting the old one back in the water.

⁴ The skin of the victim. See pp. 38, 49, etc.

⁵ *Jigo*. See *post*, p. 111, and H.S.C. (*Gausami*), pp. 77, 78, 496, 511.

⁶ Albinos. See H.S.C., p. 93.

⁷ King-killing. See H.S.C., pp. 103-105, 132. The Borum of Bauchi still sew their adult dead in the wet skin of a goat, and bury the body behind the house. Afterwards, if all is well, the medicine-man hears the spirit humming like a bee in the hut (*cf.* H.S.C., Story 11). See *After Many Days* (S.U.M.), 1912, pp. 36, 37.

⁸ Shilluk. See Seligmann, *The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk* (Wellcome Research), p. 222.

⁹ Tests. The common tests in all initiations. See p. 209.

¹⁰ Cap. Such as Sarikin Bakka and others wear. See Ill. No. 44. The cap was the emblem of chieftainship, and was worn by the king-killer in Muri. See H.S.C., p. 105.

¹¹ Distribution of flesh. So as to distribute the good influence. See *post*, Chapter XV., Note 1.

CHAPTER IV

¹ Totemism, etc. Amongst the Dinka, men of the crocodile clan will not hesitate to swim rivers at night, and a man belonging to the lion clan sleeps in the open with impunity. "If a lion was suffering from a splinter in the paw, or a bone in its throat, it would roar in the vicinity of his hut, and he would come out and remove the splinter or bone. This intimacy did not appear to be shared by all the members of the lion clan. There are two kinds of lions recognised by all Dinka, the man-eating lion and the cattle-eating variety. The former are killed without

scruple, as they are not recognised as relations, but the latter are propitiated by offerings of food" (C. G. Seligmann, *Customs of the World*, "The Southern Sudan," pp. 712, 713). Malay crocodile-wizards can summon crocodiles, and can compel one guilty of man-eating to allow itself to be killed (W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 293).

² Soul of Clan. See H.S.C., Story No. 29, and Seligmann, *The Cult of Nyakang*, p. 232. At Sofala, the soul of a previous king was supposed to possess and to give counsel to the successor. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Possession."

³ Marriage rules. See H.S.C., pp. 79, 80, 119.

⁴ Charm. At Tlemcen, the blood of the victims at the annual sacrifice is dried and kept. Afterwards it is used as a charm to cure toothache, or, mixed with henna, as a remedy for sore breasts (Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 470).

⁵ Nigerian Totemism. See *Man*, 1910, Art. 40.

⁶ Testicles. I have not deleted this description, because it seems to show that Haj Ali was describing a real event, and also the priestly-king may have been revered for his peculiarity, since testicles seem to have a magic character. See *post*, p. 152.

⁷ Human leopards. An article by Dr Burrows, in *The Journal of the African Society* for January, is just in time to be noted. The two societies support the fetish "Bor-fimah," usually an elongated calabash, filled with a disgusting concoction—possibly symbolic of fecundity—and revived periodically by the application of fat from human kidneys, or else abandoned for a new one. The account of the actual sacrifice of a selected human being bears out my suggestion in the text. "The 'leopard men' are selected, and they are warned to be in readiness on the

fateful night to don the costumes made of leopard skins, on the legs of which are wooden models of the leopard's feet, so that their impressions in soft earth may convince sceptical folk as to their 'authenticity.' Further, they are armed with the cruel leopard knives, which have three or four incurved blades to imitate the mauling of a leopard in case the victim should escape! . . . The leopard men . . . first lacerate the [victim's] throat with the sharp claw knives, sometimes severing all the vital structures, and they then return into the bush, growling and roaring like leopards." The abdomen of the victim is opened, omens being deduced from the state of the liver and intestinal membranes, and then small portions of the body are sent to the different lodges for distribution to the members of the society. The fact that the amount of flesh eaten by the members at the present day is minute leads the writer to think that it must be regarded as an incriminating measure, and one desired to secure secrecy, and that formerly this was "not an integral rite in the ceremony." But surely the minute morsels may always have been distributed on account of their virtue?

⁸ Bori in trees. See T.H.H., p. 258, and *Man*, 1910, Art. 40.

⁹ State in after life. The Kagoro think that it depends upon the rank and prowess in this. See T.H.H., p. 170.

¹⁰ Dan Wawa. One of the pagan spirits is called *Dan Wawa*. He wears a skin at the dances. Perhaps the fact that the hyena (the buffoon of the animal world) dances before the lion in the skin of the slaughtered ram has some reference to this. See H.S.C., p. 138, and *Hausa Folk-Tales*, No. III.

¹¹ Tree Totems. Professor Robertson Smith says (*The Religion of the Semites*, p. 132): "It appears probable

that the association of certain kinds of *jinn* with trees must in many cases be regarded as primary, the trees themselves being conceived as animated demoniac beings." And he relates a story of two men who were killed because they had set fire to a thicket in order to bring the land under cultivation, the jinns flying away with doleful cries in the shape of white serpents.

¹² Conceptual Totemism. See H.S.C., pp. 120-122, and Story 55.

¹³ Points in common. As I have acknowledged Dr Haddon's help, it is only right to say that he does not agree with my stages. But I have retained my own arrangement, not because I consider it to be the best possible, but because it seems to follow from the information given me by the Hausas.

CHAPTER V

¹ This is a very ancient charm. In an ancient Assyrian tablet, a ghost is turned back by tying tightly a cord with seven knots and treated with medicines round the temples. See *Semitic Magic*, p. 33.

² Massage. It seems to be done nowadays for the sake of the baby's appearance, but there may have been a religious motive originally, for Robertson Smith says (*op. cit.* p. 133) that new-born children's heads were rubbed with gum of the acacia to keep away the jinn, or daubed with the blood of the sheep slain as a sacrifice, this ceremony bringing the child under the protection of the god of the community. The modern practice is described in Chapter VIII. In Egypt and Morocco, the babies are smeared in

butter or oil and kept unwashed for perhaps seven days, this too being a protection, apparently.

³ Mutilations of lips, nose, and teeth. See T.H.H., pp. 110-111 and several illustrations, and A.-A.N.A., p. 209.

⁴ The difference in the catch of the clog, etc. See Figs. 9, 10, and H.S.C., Figs. 22, 23.

⁵ Circumcision. The rite of circumcision was practised in the days of Carthage. Of his priests Baal Hammon demanded the sacrifice of their manhood, while all his servants had to be mutilated, and young children were burnt in the autumn when nature and the sun seemed to languish and die. Dr Bertholon (whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Tunis) says in his *Essai sur La Religion des Libyens* (p. 40) that the stone knife was used in the rite for a long time, and the fact that it is the custom of modern North Africans (as amongst the Hausas) to operate upon a number of children on the same day points to its being a survival of a rite of substitution which in ancient times celebrated the death of the god Hammon. Tanith required her votaresses to sacrifice their chastity or their hair, and a trace of the latter custom may be seen in the fact that the Carthaginian ladies made their locks into strings for the catapults to be used against the Romans in the final siege.

⁶ Swearing. See Wake, *Serpent Worship and Other Essays*, p. 11, and H.S.C., p. 139.

⁷ Tribal marks. See H.S.C., pp. 100-103.

⁸ Scarification charms. See H.S.C., pp. 170, 518, 524, 526.

⁹ Crocodile or lizard. See *The Evil Eye*, p. 321.

¹⁰ Painting. See H.S.C., pp. 102, 161.

¹¹ Best clothes. See *post*, p. 233.

¹² Bori in Amar. See H.S.C., Frontispiece.

¹³ Horses in trousers. See my article, "West Africa," in *Customs of the World*, p. 801.

¹⁴ Veil. See *Semitic Magic*, p. 75.

¹⁵ Uniform. See a photograph of the Emir of Kano's Bodyguard in *The Field*, 10th January 1914.

CHAPTER VI

¹ Hausa Houses. See H.S.C., pp. 106, 469, 484, and several illustrations. For method of building, see T.H.H., pp. 138-142.

² Sacrifice. All over North Africa even now, a sheep or other animal is offered at some stage in the building, the owners eating it with the workmen. The house is thus provided with a guardian spirit just as is a ship by the act of breaking a bottle over its bows.

³ Tar Baby Story. See H.S.C., pp. 20-24. A knot also is often supposed to have magic powers, and it is not impossible that the idea holds good in the case of those tied to mark a boundary.

⁴ Cooking in the open. In early times killing animals was a religious act, and worship took place in the open although there was a building of some kind in which the rites might have been performed (Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 197), so it may be that cooking outside is a survival. Even in Nigeria, fires are made in the huts for warmth, so there is no objection to the fire itself.

⁵ Oven. *Cf.* the story of the punishment of the witch who ate her grandchild (*Man*, 1911, Art. 37).

⁶ Eating rules. See H.S.C., p. 144.

⁷ Cow dung. I know of such a poultice having been used by a European for faceache.

⁸ Cannibalism amongst the Hausas. See H.S.C., pp. 18, 123, 516. Even this may have had a Semitic origin, for Numbers xxiii. 24 and xxiv. 8 show that the flesh and blood of enemies was consumed.

⁹ Dogs play an important rôle in both North and West Africa. The Mohammedans regard them as unclean, and yet to feed them is an act of piety, and they should not be killed. Among the Kagoro they always form part of the bride-price (see T.H.H., p. 232). Amongst the Bambara one is killed upon the grave of a chief (Abbé Henry, *op cit.*), and this was the case in North Africa also, a number of bones of dogs and horses having been found in the necropolis of the Rabs, these animals having been substituted for the human victims of earlier times. Grant (*Twixt Sand and Sea*, p. 23) mentions a tribe which bred dogs in order to eat them at solemn feasts, though the reason was unknown. Bertholon (*Recherches Anthropologiques dans la Berberie Orientale*, p. 537) says that the sedentary Arabs and others along the coast claim that such food is efficacious against fever and syphilis. In Tunis the young Jewesses are said to be fattened upon dogs' flesh before marriage, while the inhabitants of Jerba say that it prevents dates irritating the throat. In the south of Tunis, dog is a Friday (Sunday) dish. The head is not eaten. See Bertholon, p. 538. For their power against witches, ghosts, and bogeys, see H.S.C., p. 34. In Tripoli also puppies are eaten by girls who are anxious to be married, especially if suitors are not forthcoming, and I am told that the same thing happens in Nigeria.

CHAPTER VII

¹ Food is a King. See *Al Koran* (Sale's Prel. Disc., pp. 16, 27), and *Semitic Magic*, p. 207. Cf also the practice of the Arabs who call sarsaparilla "Mabruka The Princess, Daughter of a Prince," greeting it with cries of joy when brought into the house, and treating it with special respect. See Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 307. For the objection to a dog, see H.S.C., p. 174.

² Working-bee. See the story in *Folk-Lore*, June 1910, in which the spider asks different members of the animal kingdom to aid him to repair his roof (which he himself has burnt on purpose), arranging so that the weakest ones, which arrive first, will be killed by the strongest, and thus provide him with the corpses for food.

³ Talking to cattle. The Hausa believes that cows understand Filani. See T.H.H., p. 299.

⁴ Laughter. See *Devils*, p. 148.

⁵ Horse. See N.W.S., p. 60; and *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 477.

⁶ Salutations. See T.H.H., p. 210.

CHAPTER VIII

¹ Adoption. Adoption was practised by the pre-Islamic Arabs, and Mohammed adopted his freedman, Zaid, but subsequently he forbade the practice (*Al Koran*, Sura xxxiii.). Still, if a man acknowledges a child to be his, that child will be acknowledged to be his child in law, provided that (1) it is of unknown descent, (2) its age is

suitable, (3) the child asserts that the man is its father, and with the Malikitis (4) the adopter has had a wife or concubine, (5) that he and the child are not complete strangers, and (6) that there is no manifest desire in the declaration to defeat the claims of legal heirs. See Burge's *Commentaries on Colonial and Foreign Laws*, 1907, vol. ii., p. 420.

² Wind. A parallel to this is found in the Jewish belief in Azazel, who makes women appear to be heavy with child, "but since such offspring cannot be carried by men, the woman in question breaks wind." See *Semitic Magic*, p. 76.

³ Presents. In Egypt when a woman has *zar*, she must be given some article which she desires before she can become normal again. The present is often of no value, the idea is that the spirit in her must be placated.

⁴ Gestation. See Rattray (*Hausa Folk-Lore, Customs, Proverbs, etc.*, p. 186). See also second note on Chapter II. The Maliki law, as construed in Algiers, limits gestation to three hundred days at most. The Hanafi allows two years after the dissolution of marriage unless the woman has declared that her *idat* has ended. If there are grounds for ascribing a child, born say seven months after a second marriage, to either of the two husbands, it is assigned to the second. See Burge, p. 300.

⁵ Changeling. See, however, H.S.C., p. 93.

⁶ Charm for childbirth. The proper drink is the water and ink washed off a copy of the third chapter of the Koran, which relates to the birth of the Virgin Mary. Probably the *kasko* is ornamented with words from this source. I could not procure a specimen, unfortunately. See Hartland, *op. cit.* p. 69.

⁷ Mother dying in childbirth. See H.S.C., pp. 90, 91.

An Arab parallel is given in *Semitic Magic* (p. 22), but in that story the boy was ten years of age when found, and seems to have been led by his mother's spirit.

⁸ Childbirth, lactation, etc. See H.S.C., pp. 90-93. Amongst the Hanafis and Shiah's, an irrebuttable presumption of puberty arises at the expiration of the fifteenth year, amongst the Malikis not until the end of the eighteenth. The earliest age of majority (puberty) is twelve years in a boy, nine in a girl, and in the case of the latter puberty is presumed in the absence of evidence to the contrary. See Burge, p. 447.

⁹ Father speaking to children. The same thing has been noticed amongst the Semites. "It is only with his little children that the father is effusively affectionate and on quite easy terms" (Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 59).

¹⁰ Names. See H.S.C., pp. 178-182.

¹¹ Infanticide. See H.S.C., pp. 93, 126.

¹² Proverbs, word-games, etc. See H.S.C., pp. 57-73.

¹³ Bori stops flow. "According to Zoroaster, the menstruous flow, at least in its abnormal manifestations, is a work of Ahriman or the devil." See *Semitic Magic*, p. 119.

¹⁴ Throwing earth by the door of a hut. A great insult. See H.S.C., Story 22.

¹⁵ Fittan Fura or Fita Furra. See H.S.C., pp. 77, 78, 496. Amongst some of the pagan Filani of Nigeria, maidens and youths sleep together in the forest during the festival of *Girewali*, this practice being supposed to promote the prosperity of the clan. See *Man*, 1910, Art. 40. See also *post*, Chapter XIV., Note 10. The custom of making a youth and girl live together before marriage without eating may not have any connexion with the Fittan Fura, for amongst some of the Manipur groups a young couple may not marry until they have slept under the same roof

for at least three nights without intercourse. See Hodson, "The 'Genna' amongst the Tribes of Assam," in *Journal R.A.I.*, 1906, p. 97.

CHAPTER IX

¹ Marriage Ceremonies, Divorce, etc. See H.S.C., pp. 74-89.

² Sugar. This is given in Morocco also, and milk, these signifying the life of sweetness and softness which she is to lead. Possibly the milk indicates fertility.

³ False Bride. See Rattray, *op. cit.* p. 164.

⁴ Protection of Bride and Bridegroom. See Doutté, *Magie et Religion-dans L'Afrique du Nord*, p. 290. This author mentions later (p. 503) that at the burial of the son-in-law of the Prophet, a "false corpse" was given a public funeral, while the body was buried secretly, so as to preserve it from the enemies of the deceased. Even in England, the police often practise ruses of a similar nature when a popular—or still more, an unpopular—person has been arrested, so as to prevent release or capture by the multitude.

⁵ Fish for conception. In England also a trout was regarded as having procreative power if swallowed alive. See Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, pp. 51, 52. The fish was the symbol of Dagon, the Phœnician god, and later on was adopted by the Christians because they were as fish being born again of water, so it was certain to come to North Africa. It occurs also in Morocco, I am told.

⁶ Fish Trick. See Sladen, *Carthage and Tunis*, vol. ii. p. 529. I have no confirmation of this.

⁷ Gifts. See Hartland, *op. cit.* i. 35, and the second note above. The Druids considered that the powder of mistletoe made women fruitful. See also Bertholon, *op. cit.* p. 578. A key is also given by Arabs, this being a phallic symbol. For the snake, see p. 408.

⁸ Marriage to water-spirit. See the story of Dodo's Debt, H.S.C., No. 75.

⁹ Avoidance. See H.S.C., pp. 88, 89, 461, 471, 508.

CHAPTER X

¹ Death and Burial, See H.S.C., pp. 46, 71, 72, 103-107, 136, 151, 157, 163, 458, 507, 508. Inheritance. See H.S.C., pp. 107, 108, 487, 495, 496.

² Congo. See Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii. p. 31. In the cemetery at Susa (Sousse) some graves have both.

³ Professor Seligmann (*The Cult of Nyakang*, p. 218) thinks that the grave of a Shilluk chief is made in the town in which his umbilical cord has been buried. It is not impossible that there is some connexion in the case of the Hausas also, for the placenta of the child of an important person may be buried within the compound—as will his body be later—while in the case of the poor everything is regarded as of no worth.

⁴ Birds take offerings. According to Sale (*Koran*, Prel. Disc., p. 59), when the souls have been separated from the bodies by the Angel of Death, that of a prophet goes straight to paradise, that of a martyr rests in the crop of a green bird which lives in paradise, while regarding the soul of an ordinary believer there are various opinions: 1. It may stay near the sepulchre with liberty to go elsewhere,

and with the power of hearing the voices of those who visit it ; 2. It may stay with Adam in the lowest heaven ; 3. It may remain in the well Zemzem ; 4. It may stay at the grave for seven days and then depart to an unknown place ; 5. It may enter the trumpet which will wake all at the proper time ; or 6. It may dwell in the form of a white bird under the throne of God. As to the souls of unbelievers, after having been refused entrance into both heaven and hell, they will be taken down to the seventh earth and thrown into a dungeon, called *sajin*, to be tormented. Another idea of the bird is found in the belief of the pagan Arabs that one called *Hamah* was formed from the blood of the brain and visited the sepulchre once in one hundred years. Others thought the bird was animated by the soul of a person who had been unjustly slain (*ib.* p. 16). -

Considering the legend of the Myrmidons, and the fact that the ant is a totem on the Gold Coast (Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, i. 69), it is just possible that this insect was at one time connected with the soul, but it does not necessarily follow, for when once the idea of the bird being a soul had been lost, the people would see that the ant also ate of the offerings. Still, the ant-hill is possessed of special importance as a rendezvous (H.S.C., Nos. 58 and 80), dust from an ant-hill is a powerful Hebrew charm, and it was the custom with the Arabs to place an ant in the hand of a new-born babe, praying that it might grow up wise and good (*Semitic Magic*, p. 33).

⁵ No punishment of Wizards. Doutté says (p. 322) that amongst the orthodox Arabs, it is unsettled whether an ill-wisher should be punished for his acts or not, for, since envy is uncontrollable, the ill-wisher is not perhaps responsible. Very amusing at first sight, but quite

comparable to the old judicial view of kleptomania with us.

⁶ Supernatural conception. See *Semitic Magic*, p. 73, and *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 50.

⁷ Summoning the bori. This seems to be an Arabic touch, the proper form to summon being, "So and So, Son of So and So" (the mother). See Doutté, *op. cit.*

⁸ *Rai*. See *Serpent Worship*, p. 89.

⁹ The Well of Life. Not Hell, but perhaps Zemzem.

¹⁰ Buying the devil. The case is recorded in the Court Rolls of the Manor of Hatfield, near the Isle of Axholme, in Yorkshire, "The said John refused to deliver the said devil, nor has he yet done it, to the grievous damage of the said Robert to the amount of sixty shillings; and he has therefore brought his suit." See *Devils*, p. 56.

¹¹ Fataluwa. In the Malay Peninsula, the blood of a murdered man is put into a bottle, and from it comes a spirit in the form of a tiny female. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Demonology."

CHAPTER XI

¹ The similarity between the powers of the priest and the magician is seen in the following example, which is particularly interesting since it relates to a European. "A curious illustration of the prevailing belief in the power of the marabout to transfer himself rapidly from place to place by occult means was given to us by an Arab boy at Bou Saada. The reputed marabout, who strangely enough in this case happened to be *the French curé* of the place, was able, said my informant, 'to fly like a scarab.' He was often seen by the natives flying over the mountains

at night. Upon one occasion during the daytime two natives were journeying from Bou Saada across the desert. When they had travelled a distance of forty miles they suddenly saw the curé whom they had left behind in the village. He had reached the spot before them. The conclusion they came to was that he had flown there. The curé is now living in Algiers, but, the boy told us, he did not fly *there*—that would never have done; too many people would have seen him, and he wished to keep the fact of his powers secret” (Grant, *op. cit.* p. 350). Possibly the curé was the first to ride a bicycle in the district—if he allowed his clothes to float loose he would not be unlike a beetle—and when the vehicles became common the means of locomotion were forgotten, only his rapid journey being remembered. In the up-to-date city of Algiers he would excite no comment. A North American Indian legend describes the first train as a magical animal breathing fire, and the story persisted even when the railways had become familiar.

² Invocations. For authorities see *Semitic Magic*, p. xlix., quoting *The Magic Book of the Disciples*, etc. See also *Devils*, p. 144, and Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion*, p. 168.

³ Changes in treatment of disease. While the proofs were being corrected *The Times* (2nd January 1914) published an article upon “The Scientific Use of Drugs,” based upon Sir Almroth Wright’s report on pneumonia on the Rand. Certain parts of the article fit in so well with what I have written that I quote them herewith. “The time has now long passed when blood-letting was generally looked upon by the medical profession as the chief and most efficacious remedy for all diseases. The present movement towards a rational and scientific system of drug treatment . . . is

in its way no less of a revolution than that which led the profession to prefer the use of drugs to the use of leeches. It is beginning nowadays to be recognised that simply to pour a drug into the human body, with the object of destroying bacteria, without any regard to the after-effects which it may have on the body itself, is unscientific and harmful. It is useless to kill the poisonous microbe if at the same time you kill the patient. . . . There can be no doubt that gradually a new system of medicine will be built up."

⁴ Talking to spirits. This has been recorded elsewhere also. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Demonology."

⁵ Imprisoning the bori in a hat. The head and head-dress are particularly connected with the spirits, as has been seen on p. 66.

⁶ *Zafi*. Magic which is more or less for the sake of the whole community. *Tsafi* is the worship of bori. *Maita* is witchcraft, and evil. *Dabbo* sometimes has a bad meaning, but is more often used for conjuring.

⁷ Europeans appealed to. See A.-A.N.A., p. 191.

⁸ Hausa must ask guest to share a meal. See H.S.C., p. 144.

⁹ The blacksmith. In West Africa the blacksmith is treated by many tribes as a being apart (T.H.H., p. 136); it is possible that Auta, who killed the bogey Dodo, was a blacksmith (H.S.C., p. 511). In North Africa, the Arab farrier in many parts is exempt from taxes, and if, when pursued by enemies, he kneels down and with the corners of his burnous goes through the actions of blowing bellows—thus revealing his profession—his life will be spared (Grant, *op. cit.* p. 453, quoting Daumas, *The Horses of the Sahara*). Adam is supposed to have brought from heaven five things made of iron—viz. an anvil, a pair of tongs,

two hammers, and a needle. The bori are afraid of iron (p. 289), as is the witch, according to some (H.S.C. p. 156), but it is hardly necessary to go more fully into a subject which is so widely known.

¹⁰ The wizard. It might have been better to have used the term "male-witch," for "wizard" has now not necessarily a bad signification. In this book, however, it must be taken to include the sorcerer and the evil-wisher.

CHAPTER XII

¹ The number 1. Probably another survival may be found in our ace in cards. A London publication "explains the reason of the numbers, potentiality from an occult point of view." It clearly shows what is in a name and how it is associated with number." By the time we have read of the different kinds of fortune-telling, mesmerism, conjuring tricks, and herbal remedies, the West African forest is not far off.

² Charms and Potions. See H.S.C., pp. 23, 24, 31, 33, 101, 125, 135, 147, 149, 153, 156, 168-172, 469, 482, 483, 486, 518, 520, 522, 526. To those who regard the African charms with contempt, the following may come as a surprise, for since the advertisement covers a whole page of a certain publication which foretells events—in itself rather an anachronism for our enlightened age, surely—there must be a large number of ready purchasers. "Everyone should have a talisman. . . . Faith in its working efficacy is essential. . . . The magical squares and pentacles of the Jewish Kabala were of a more elaborate nature. To their construction is imported knowledge of Astrology and

planetary influence, and the magical faculty of the human soul as expressed in the will and imagination. They made selection of times for their work, choosing the day and hour of that planet under which the talisman was to be made, taking care that the planet was suitably situated in the heavens by aspect, and making their operations in such surroundings as Nature had sealed to the service of such work. The talisman is worn upon the breast . . . no one should touch it or see it . . . it should not be allowed to touch the ground . . . the secret of its power lies hidden in words. . . . Captain W. reports that in Abyssinia he discovered races of giants who inhabit the devil-possessed district of Walamo. He was a victim of the magical power of the Walamo, and 'was quite unable to explain the cause of this mysterious business.' . . . All that is done under good influences comes to good effect, whether by sigil, charm or talisman, it is effected by faith of the operator, aided by will and imagination." How deliciously candid. "Imagination is the creative power of the mind by which a mould is delivered to Nature for the reception of the vitalising element of the will." At the foot of the advertisement are offered talismans on parchment. For Honour and Riches, 1s. 3d.—a good investment, surely. For Health, 1s. 3d.—cheaper than a panel doctor. For Learning, 1s. 3d.—no university could do it at the price. Success in Hazard, Betting, Cards, Stock Exchange, 1s. 8d.—what a happy combination! For Man's or Woman's Love, 1s. 3d.—there ought to be one to keep down the household expenses also. King Solomon's Key to Wisdom, 3s. 6d.—a boon to Borough Councillors. These are very low rates, and for those who would scorn to obtain their desires by such cheap means it is comforting to know that

the same can be had engraved on silver for 25s., or on gold for £5. And to think that we go on slaving!

An even better commentary upon our credulity is found in the fact that a statute is still in force against witches in Ireland, and in his Commission of the Peace, a newly appointed magistrate is empowered to take cognisance of "Witchcraft, Inchantment, Sorcery, Magic Arts." See Seymour, *Irish Witchcraft and Demonology*, pp. 61, 248.

³ *Rakumin Kassa*. The dictionary gives "the larva of a small species of ant." My informant says it is a hump-backed ant.

⁴ *Grave*. This is not the same as the *solwan*, the draught composed of water and dust from the grave drunk by Arab mourners in order that they may forget their grief, for the dust in the charm may come from any grave, whereas the drinking of the *solwan* is a form of communion which consoles the survivors. See Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 323. The soporific influence of the dead hand was recognised in this country, Irish burglars as late as 1831 putting a candle in "the hand of glory" in the belief that the people of the house would thus sleep on and not see the light. See *Irish Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 232.

⁵ *Beran Benghazi*. I was told that the Arabic name is *Abu Hamma*. It digs a very deep hole and so is hard to find. It is hunted for food. Miss Murray tells me that the mouse was often used in old Egyptian charms, and Robertson Smith says (*op. cit.* p. 293) that it was supposed to have supernatural and demoniac qualities.

CHAPTER XIII

¹ *Badufu*. Lit. "Giver of darkness." Some species of black beetle, I was told.

² Gospel as charm. See *Devils*, p. 144.

³ Praise. See H.S.C., p. 161. See also H.S.C., pp. 140, 141.

⁴ The hand. See *Semitic Magic*, p. lxii. To stretch out the hand was an exercise of power (*cf.* the hand of justice), and we still use the contrary expression, "to stay one's hand." Many survivals are to be found with us—*e.g.* giving the hands on a bargain, and at marriage, blessing, kissing hands on appointment, etc. The sign too is often seen in the form of a brooch amongst the poorer people.

⁵ The horn. This also is an ancient sign, the cornucopia being one of the symbols of good fortune and "Plenty." The exaltation of the horn mentioned in the Psalms and elsewhere possibly refers to the fact that the people wore horns (introduced into England in the reign of Henry V.) as a part of the head-dress, the height varying directly with the rank of the wearer. Moses was sometimes pictured as wearing horns, this being a mistaken representation of the beams of light from his face which shone (Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*). I have never seen the hand formed into a horn (by closing the second and third fingers) in Africa, but it still survives in Europe.

The fish has been mentioned already (see Chapter IX.). Certain species were sacred even in very early times.

⁶ Salt. Amongst the ancient Arabs, when two men had had a dispute they were made to sit by the fire while priests cast salt upon it, the appeal being made to the

common bond of food which united the two tribesmen (see Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 479). Salt also frightens away evil influences (see H.S.C., p. 84).

⁷ The evil wish. See *The Evil Eye*, pp. 33-35, and *Semitic Magic*, pp. lx., 72, 145.

⁸ Kneeling to a dog. See H.S.C., p. 172.

⁹ Injury through earth. See also H.S.C., pp. 163, 460.

¹⁰ Spirit in water. See *Semitic Magic*, p. 28, and *The Evil Eye*, p. 83.

CHAPTER XIV

¹ Magical power of negroes. Their reputation was great in Europe also, hence the corruption of the word necromancy into nēgromancy, or black magic.

² Rain-making. See H. J. Cooper in *Go and Tell* (S.U.M.), 1913, p. 37.

³ Stealing meat. Amongst the pagan Filani in Nigeria, on the name-day of the first child, an ox is killed, and the *biwali*—i.e. the heart, and flesh which covers the stomach—is seized by the youth who was best groomsman at the wedding, and he, holding a blazing torch in one hand, runs off with the spoil, being pursued by other youths, two of whom catch him and help him to eat the *biwali*, sometimes reserving a little for the bridegroom. See *Man*, 1910, Art. 40.

⁴ Lightning. At the season of Wowo, boys go in procession with torches, sometimes throwing them about. This too may represent lightning, but not necessarily, as the bearers cry out "Behold the torches of the Prophet."

⁵ Tanith and Takai. See H.S.C., Ills. xxxiii.-xxxvi.

and T.H.H., pp. 263, 264. See also Bertholon, *Recherches Anthropologiques*, pp. 634-637, quoting various authorities.

⁶ Smearing blood upon corn-binns. See also T.H.H., p. 207.

⁷ Continency. This is also necessary for boxers. See H.S.C., Story 99 and note.

⁸ Pole rite. This is almost certainly a phallic rite ; even to-day a person wishing to insult another will touch a pole, and say "Your father." A similar rite occurs in India. See references in H.S.C., pp. 496, 511.

⁹ The money tree. Somewhat similar stories existed in Assyria. See *Semitic Magic*, p. xx. See also Chapter II., Note 1.

CHAPTER XV

¹ Distributing victim's flesh. See H.S.C., p. 93, T.H.H., p. 178, and 1 Sam. xi. 7. See also *ante*, Chapter III., Note 11. Perhaps there is something comparable in the fact that in Ireland the body of a witch was cut in pieces and distributed over the area over which her evil influence extended. See *Irish Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 198.

² Hunter's head-dress. See my article, "West Africa," in *Customs of the World*, p. 799.

³ Traps. See T.H.H., pp. 58, 124.

⁴ Hyenas. See H.S.C., p. 35.

⁵ Hunters' *Jigo*. A photograph of a Munchi blessing is seen in my article on "West Africa" quoted above, p. 810. See also Robertson Smith, *op cit.* p. 185.

⁶ Identification of arrows. Cf. T.H.H., p. 291.

⁷ Games, etc. See H.S.C., pp. 57, 58.

⁸ The koraiya. This in the bori rites now is a miniature battle-axe, but Haj Ali's description is correct, for I have seen one since. Tuwaregs wear a ring of serpentine on the right arm with which to break an enemy's head. See Bertholon, *op. cit.* p. 449.

⁹ The half-man. See H.S.C., pp. 123, 124.

¹⁰ Initiation tests. See *Primitive Culture*, ii. p. 194. The Earl of Desmond, a magician, frightened his wife in a similar manner by his transformations. See *Irish Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 71.

¹¹ *Sharru*. See H.S.C., Story 22. The contests are still carried on, one having been described recently. "A circle was formed around some young braves, who stood with arms raised above their heads, thus signifying their readiness to undergo the ordeal. Their expression might not vary from ch  rfulness and calm. Meantime their comrades were armed with long sticks, and from time to time they would step forward and beat the young Stoics with a force abundantly attested by the weals that a Cow-Fulani bears round his body to his dying day. The man who has shown no sign of suffering has proved his manhood, and is now considered worthy of marriage. Girls stand round to watch, and to them belongs the right of ending the test; this they do by stepping forward with raised hands. When a man has already gained a great reputation for courage, his fellows will not strike him—not, it is said, that they dread reprisals, but for fear that his demeanour should excite worship from too many young ladies" (*Chiefs and Cities of Central Africa*, p. 257).

There is probably in this performance an idea of fertility, the act of the flagellation driving out any evil influences, the stick conferring the fertilising and strength-

ening powers of the tree into the youth's body. It is so in North Africa (see Doutré, *op. cit.* p. 555).

A somewhat similar contest in Central America has been described by Brett (*The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 158), though the *maguarri* may be due to African influence.

¹² Waistband. Such magic girdles may be the parents of the modern electric belts.

CHAPTER XVI

¹ Nature Myths. See H.S.C., pp. 112-118.

² Earth divided. The full story is given in the Koran, chap. xviii. The wall is related to have been built by Dhu'l Karnein, variously described as Alexander the Great, a king of Persia contemporary with Abraham, or else one of the kings of Yaman. After having found that the sun set in a sea of black mud, he journeyed to the land where it rose. Then he travelled from south to north, until he came to two mountains (in Armenia or Turkestan), and taught the people there how to make the wall to protect themselves against Gog and Magog (probably Turks and others) who were wasting the land. The wall was made of stone, melted brass, and iron, and was so high that Gog and Magog could not climb it, nor could they cut through it. But when the end of the world comes they will be able to come south again, for the wall will crumble to dust. The above has a faint resemblance to the story of the youth who cheated death (H.S.C., 96), and was probably borrowed from the Jews (*cf.* Ezekiel xxxviii., especially verse 20). Two variants are given in *'Twixt Sand and Sea* (p. 422). In the first,

pygmies are said to be gradually licking through the wall, though they will be restrained from perforating it until the proper time. In the second, the pygmies are tunnelling a mountain, and will get through when they say "Inshallah" (If God wills). This they at present refuse to do, but by-and-by a child will be given that name, and in calling him they will utter the fateful word and so succeed.

³ Sacred rocks. See T.H.H., pp. 50, 99, and A.-A.N.A., Illustration LXXVI.

⁴ Offerings. See Lord Avebury, *The Origin of Civilisation*, p. 315.

⁵ Blood speaking. This is often related in the folk-lore. See Story 100 (variant) in H.S.C., where the drops of the witch's blood threaten to kill the youth who has cut her down. See also p. 157. Spittle, etc., has a similar power (p. 464).

⁶ Tumuli. See Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 434.

⁷ Cloths wrapped around trees. See T.H.H., p. 260. See also Lord Avebury, *op. cit.* p. 305.

⁸ Stars. The devils are trying to get into the heavens, from three of which they were excluded on the birth of Jesus, and from the other four when Mohammed graced the earth with his presence.

⁹ Drums. See *The Evil Eye*, p. 446.

¹⁰ Creation. See Chapter II., Note 1.

¹¹ Omens. A good many of these have been borrowed from the Arabs, I think. With them "omens are not blind tokens; the animals know what they tell to men." See Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 443.

CHAPTER XVII

¹ Pretended death. This story has a marked resemblance to the initiation ceremonies in West Ceram (Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, iii. p. 442), the boys' heads being supposed to be cut off, a resurrection taking place a few days afterwards.

² Four saints. In the Malays also four sheikhs are said to be "penned" in the four directions, and the people therefore "ask pardon of the four corners of the world" (Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 100). The fact that a West African rose to such eminence is not at all surprising, for according to Dr Bertholon, even the celebrated priestess of Tanith shows numerous negroid characteristics. See *Recherches Anthropologiques dans la Berberie Orientale*, p. 279.

³ Free meals to poor. The Semites regarded them as the guests of the deity. See Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 223.

⁴ Snake in well. The Southern Arabs believe that the jinn of the well takes this form (Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 168). See also H.S.C., p. 124. Cf. our ordeals, T.H.H., p. 201.

⁵ Bay leaves. See *Devils*, p. 137.

⁶ Chart. See Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 452.

⁷ Sacrifice. *Ib.* chap. x.

⁸ Goat dressed up. See Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 306. Conversely human sacrifices were often disguised as animals. *Ib.* p. 366.

⁹ Incense. It is interesting in this connexion to quote a passage from Professor Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites* (p. 426). "The most powerful cleansing media are necessarily derived from the body and blood of sacrosanct victims, and the forms of purification

embrace such rites as the sprinkling of sacrificial blood or ashes upon the person, anointing with holy unguents, or fumigation with the smoke of incense, which from early times was a favourite accessory to sacrifices. It seems probable, however, that the religious value of incense was originally independent of animal sacrifice, for frank-incense was the gum of a very holy species of tree, which was collected with religious precautions. . . . The right even to use the trees was reserved to certain holy families, who, when engaged in harvesting the gum, had to abstain from all contact with women and from participation in funerals. . . . Whether, therefore, the sacred odour was used in unguents or burned like an altar sacrifice, it appears to have owed its virtue, like the gum of the samova tree [an acacia which was regarded as being a woman, the gum being her menstruous blood], to the idea that it was the blood of an animate and divine plant." Both incense and scent seem to be somewhat contradictory in their action, for both attract the bori at times, and yet free people from their evil influence. From the fact that certain plants produced the required ingredients for the incense or scent arose the belief that the plant itself had the power to expel evil influences, and so pieces of it were worn as charms, to be succeeded later by articles of metal when its power had become known.

¹⁰ The Great Prayer in Morocco. See Westermarck in *Folk-Lore*, 1911. For an illustration of the method of staining, see my article "West Africa" in *Customs of the World*, p. 795.

¹¹ Gift to avoid illness. Corn given to the poor averts fever. See H.S.C., p. 55. Also *cf.* p. 143.

¹² Horse-races. See H.S.C., Illustration IV.

¹³ Tug o' War. See Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 587.

¹⁴ Killing of Dragon. See Sharpe, *Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity*, p 112.

¹⁶ *Takai and Lela*. See H.S.C., Illustrations XXXIII.-XXXVI., and T.H.H., pp. 262-264.

CHAPTER XVIII

¹ Winds are spirits. In East Africa also diseases are caused by spirits or winds. See Burton, *Central Africa*, ii. p. 253.

² Transformation. The belief in the power of witches, animals, hunters and anyone possessing the appropriate charms to transform themselves is fully described in H.S.C. (pp. 43, 126, 132-135, 154, 158, 159), and need not be dwelt upon here.

³ Ghul. The Ghul or R'ul are said to have been the pagan people responsible for the dolmens which are found in various parts of North Africa, they having built them in order to obtain shelter from a hailstorm which Allah sent upon them because of their wickedness. As they had no houses, Allah had thought to destroy them, but by these means they escaped death, and Allah then punished them by transforming them into vampires or ghouls—another example of the fall of man. They were immortal, therefore, until Sidi Ali killed their chief with his magical two-bladed sword, when all perished, according to my informant. They are distinct from the jinns. Professor Robertson Smith, however, regards them (*op. cit.* p. 129) as being the same, although in some stories the *ghul* is called one of the wild beasts of the jinns, for the evil places where huntsmen have been carried off by the ghul have

really been haunted by wild beasts—which, as has been noted elsewhere, he identifies with the jinns. Still another description is given by Doughty (*Arabia Deserta*, i. p. 53), who says that the ghul (or ghoul) is a female, having “a Cyclops’ eye set in the midst of her human-like head, long beak of jaws, in the ends one or two great sharp tushes, long neck; her arms like chickens’ fledgeling wings, the fingers of her hands not divided; the body big as a camel’s, but in shape as the ostrich; the sex is only feminine, she has a foot as the ass’ hoof and a foot as an ostrich. She entices passengers, calling to them over the waste by their names, so that they think it is their own mother’s or their sister’s voice.” In this are contained the descriptions of the bori seen during the initiation tests and of Uwal Yara. One would almost think that the prehistoric animals had been remembered. According to Hebrew tradition, demons always had cock’s feet. See *Semitic Magic*, p. 61.

⁴ The Owl. See *Semitic Magic*, pp. 20, 21.

⁵ Functions of bori. The conception that each deity presides over a distinct department is too abstract for the primitive mind. “The really vital question is not what a god has power to do, but whether I can get him to do it for me; and this depends on the relation in which he stands to me” (Robertson Smith, *ib.* p. 83).

⁶ Arab incantations. Several forms are given in Doutté (*op. cit.* pp. 119 *et seqq.*). These forms are very old, for curious invocations which have been found in the graves of Roman officials at La Malga, written on thin sheets of lead, exhibit similar characteristics. Some are love charms, others are curses, and the following is worth quoting because of its similarity to modern charms and for the example it affords of a sympathetic magical rite.

In Carthage great interest was taken in the chariot races between the rival factions of the Blues, Greens, Reds, and Whites, and the invocation evidently came from a partisan of one of the latter. "I invoke Thee by the Great Names to bind fast every limb and every nerve of Biktorikos [Victoricus] whom Earth, the Mother of every living soul, brought forth, the Charioteer of the Blues, and his horses which he is about to drive [the owners' names follow]. . . . As this cock is bound by its feet and hands and head, so bind fast the legs and hands and head and heart of Biktorikos, Charioteer of the Blues, to-morrow, and his horses which he is about to drive. . . . Again I adjure Thee by the God of Heaven above Who sitteth upon the Cherubim, Who divided the Earth, and severed the Sea, Iao, Abrico, Arbathiao, Sabao, Adonai, to bind fast Biktorikos. . . . Now, Now, Quickly, Quickly." See Grant, *op. cit.* p. 135.

If we look further back into the past we shall see that a similar idea existed in Babylon. See *Devils*, p. 13.

⁷ Colour. See *Semitic Magic*, pp. 33, 163-165; *Malay Magic*, p. 432; *The Evil Eye*, pp. 58, 59, 413; *The Origin of Civilisation*, p. 25; and H.S.C., pp. 144, 150, 161, 164.

⁸ Smell. See Chapter XVII., Note 9.

⁹ Duplicating an object desired. See H.S.C., Story 47, variant.

¹⁰ The same belief is found in Palestine, and in Persia, where the Yezidis fear to scald "the little devils." *Semitic Magic*, p. 59. Also in Egypt, so Mr Engelbach tells me.

¹¹ Bori slaps face. The "fairies" of Fika (Bornu) do this. See *Chiefs and Cities of Central Africa*, p. 260.

¹² Voluntary submission to an evil influence. See H.S.C., p. 155. The same idea is seen in some of the

Arab incantations. Thus when a beautiful princess of the jinns offers marriage to the man who has invoked her, he need not consent to do so, but if he does, he will become impotent. See Doutté, *op. cit.* 93. "Whether such marriages are lawful is solemnly discussed by Mohammedan jurists!" (Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 50). It is related that James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, in the seventeenth century, received a visit from a lady who was dead. He accepted an invitation to sup with her the following night, and died in the afternoon—in time to keep his appointment! See *Irish Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 103.

¹³ Obscene songs. This is usual not only in West Africa but in the northern part of the continent as well. "Augustin speaks with indignation of the incredible obscenity of the songs that accompanied the worship of the Carthaginian mother-goddess; but perhaps this is not to be set down as of Punic origin, for the general laxity on the point of female chastity in which such a type of worship [of a polyandrous goddess] originates has always been characteristic of North Africa" (Robertson Smith, *ib.* p. 56).

¹⁴ *Magira*. See *Chiefs and Cities of Central Africa*, pp. 160, 169.

¹⁵ Baal Hammon. See Grant, *op. cit.* pp. 20-31; and Bertholon, *Recherches*, p. 632.

CHAPTER XIX

¹ Imprisoning the bori. This is not a strange idea to the Hausa. King Solomon is supposed to have confined

those jinns which refused to help in the building of the temple. He kept them in subjection by means of his ring, and this was stolen once by a jinn (by deceiving one of the King's concubines), who thus deprived Solomon of his power. This jinn gave rise to the people of Asben (see H.S.C., p. 481) by causing many of the women to conceive, but, becoming tired of a human mode of life, he flew away, dropping the ring into a pool (*'Twixt Sand and Sea*, p. 479). This was swallowed by a fish, and Solomon recovered the ring in the same manner as did There-is-no-King-but-God (in Story 1, H.S.C.). Mallams can bind the bori.

² Unmarried priestess. See Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 78, quoting Herodotus, Book I., chaps. clxxxi. and clxxxii., and other authors, and his remarks on modern instances of phallic worship amongst the Arabs and others. In *The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, Colonel Ellis tells us (pp. 121, 122) that "Dancing is a special branch in the education of a priest or priestess. They must be very proficient in the art, and are taught privately by adepts for many months before they are allowed to perform in public. . . . Priests marry . . . but priestesses are never married . . . the reason appears to be that a priestess belongs to the god she serves. . . . Priestesses are ordinarily most licentious, and custom allows them to gratify their passions with any man who may chance to take their fancy . . . when excited by the dance they frequently abandon themselves to the wildest excesses Very commonly priests wear a white linen cap, which completely covers the hair, and a similar cap is sometimes worn by priestesses, but only when they are about to communicate with a god."

³ The Roman law allowed slaves to form associations, so

that subscribers might be certain of having a decent burial, and such societies are not uncommon in Africa. Thus in Egypt there is the Demerdache Order, which has its secret signs and tenets, encourages worship, and has a charitable fund for the widows and orphans of its members. See Leeder, *Veiled Mysteries of Egypt*, p. 166.

CHAPTER XX

¹ Instruments. See H.S.C., Figs. 76-89, and my article in *The Journal* of the R.A.I., vol. xlii. pp. 161, 182.

² The altar. This is not always necessary, and in fact I have seen it at bori ceremonies only in Tunis, not in Tripoli or Nigeria. According to Doutté (p. 463) it is very rare. Erections are often found in West Africa, and I have never heard any question raised as to their being true altars. That used at Tunis is a very primitive form.

³ Foods. The respect paid to flour has been commented upon already. Water is valuable in hot countries. Milk is nearly always regarded as being sacred. Coriander was used as an ingredient in Assyrian charms. See *Semitic Magic*, p. 146.

⁴ Sacrifice. In Algiers, at the Jardin d'Essai, the negro sacrificer kisses the bull on the mouth before killing it, and then rubs on cream and butter so that the sanctity of these products passes into it, and at the same time the sacrificer identifies himself with them (says Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 466). Unfortunately he does not give the name of the rite nor of the negro community practising it, but the rite of kissing by a Hausa appears somewhat strange. It is

interesting to note that in the current official report, the Resident of Kontagora says, with regard to the Dakakari and the Dukawa tribes that there is a great scarcity of fowls owing to the frequent sacrifices.

⁵ Eating without the hands. This has to be done by all initiates, and is supposed to confer upon them the ability to throw themselves upon the ground without injury. See T.H.H., p. 260. It is possible that this is done in imitation of the manner in which most animals (not *e.g.* monkeys) take their food. A similar rite is found amongst the Malays. See Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 442.

⁶ *Masu-wuta*, etc. This is not strange to the Hausas, for they can see the Aisawias doing very much more than this, the frenzied performers gashing themselves with knives and glass, and in other ways ill-treating themselves. This kind of thing (apart from bori) has been noticed at Fika in Bornu, Nigeria (see *Chiefs and Cities of Central Africa*, p. 279), a medicine-man sticking a knife into his leg without bringing blood, and hitting his head with a tomahawk. The *Koraiya* in the *Gidan Kuri* at Tunis seems to be an axe for this purpose.

⁷ Dance upon knees. See Bertholon, *op. cit.* p. 499.

⁸ Yerima. In the Malays, the third best kind of rice is called "The Veiled Princess," the sheath being so long as to overshadow the head. See Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 248. See also *ante*, Chapter VII., Note 1.

CHAPTER XXI

¹ Mallam Alhaji. See *Semitic Magic*, p. 86.

CHAPTER XXII

- ¹ Flogging. See Leeder, *Veiled Mysteries of Egypt*, p. 231.
² *Rai*. A description of a bori. See p. 139.

CHAPTER XXIII

- ¹ Doguwa. See *Customs of the World*, "Abyssinia," p. 917.
² Gajjimare. See H.S.C., p. 112.

CHAPTER XXIV

- ¹ Nakhoda. See Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 63.
² Dundurusu. See the note on the blacksmith in Chapter XI.

CHAPTER XXV

- ¹ Tribal Marks. See H.S.C., pp. 94, 100-103, 119, 161, 170, 171, 518-531, 533, 535.
² Breaking pots. See Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 30, quoting *Jewish Encyclopædia*, xi. p. 600 ; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, p. 324, and Lev. xi. 29-38.

CHAPTER XXVI

- ¹ Beautiful bori. This has probably been borrowed from the Arabs, who have an amulet the wearer of which

will captivate every woman who sees him (Doutté, p. 168). This is brought about by means of the efficacy of a certain verse of the Koran dealing with the history of Joseph. When Potiphar's wife brought him before her women, they were so enraptured that instead of cutting the oranges which they held in their hands, they cut their fingers.

CHAPTER XXVII

¹ *Dangira*. The head of the ramma plant is called *dangira* because it causes irritation when touched.

² Horns. Cf. the Biblical analogy in 2 Chron. xviii. 10, where the prophet Zadekiah wears horns. *Almajiri* signifies religious scholar or disciple.

CHAPTER XXVIII

¹ Beast bori tied. This has been noticed in many places. See Burnell, *The Devil-Worship of the Tulavas* (Indian Antiquary, 1904), p. 4.

² Water spirits. See *Semitic Magic*, p. 28.

³ Knife. See this and other shapes in H.S.C., Figs. 102-104.

⁴ Arzikki Boboniya. The name ought to be spelt Ba-Boniya, perhaps, I do not know the word.

⁵ Monkey dance. A similar possession has been noticed amongst the Malays. See Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 465.

CHAPTER XXIX

¹ Demons. See Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, numerous references in index.

² Angels. See *Al Koran*, chap. i., and Sale's notes, p. 419. See also Prel. Disc., p. 55.

³ Succubæ and Incubi. See Tylor, *op. cit.* pp. 190, 191.

⁴ Tobit. Thompson, *op. cit.* pp. 68-72, quote this and other ancient and even modern examples, and it is evident from them that Lilith still consorts with men after marriage, for she borrows the clothes of wives so as to deceive the husbands. It seems that Tobias drove away Asmodeus by reason of the smell of the fish. Among modern Arabs a dead husband may revisit his wife (p. 76).

⁵ Hausa a mixture.— See Chapter II., Note 2.

⁶ Familiar Bori. "In Hesiod they are described as the souls of men who had lived in the golden and silver ages, and who were divided into different orders" (*Devils*, p. 9). See also *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. "Demonology." Amongst the Shilluk, "one ancestral spirit may be immanent in many *ajuago* at the same time, often passing at the death of an *ajuago*, or shortly afterwards, into one of his children, who thus becomes an *ajuago* like his or her father." See Seligmann, *op. cit.* p. 232. The latter writer has observed that in Egypt the *karina* may pass to a child (*Essays and Studies*, p. 450). I am told that Dr Breasted holds a similar opinion, but I have been unable to trace his paper.

⁷ Ghosts consulted. See T.H.H., p. 153.

⁸ Ancestors. *Op. cit.* p. 116.

⁹ Foundation of cities. See H.S.C., p. 103.

¹⁰ Gods, Demons, and Human Beings. Connexions

between demons and men are mentioned several times in the Apocrypha. For Biblical references to heroes, see Gen. vi. 1-4, Ps. lxxxii. 6.

¹¹ Bori in Sierra Leone. See Aldridge, *A Transformed Colony*, pp. 197, 209.

¹² Boni, Boroa, Beri. See Sir H. Johnston, *Liberia*, pp. 1033, 1037. *Boroa* should perhaps be *boroa*. If so it may correspond to *baure*, the fig, which throughout the East is the symbol of virginity owing to the resemblance between its shape and that of the virgin uterus. The pomegranate symbolises the full womb. See *Serpent Worship*, p. 23.

¹³ Beleku, etc. See Migeod, *The Languages of West Africa*, and Faidherbe, *Langues Sénégalaises*.

¹⁴ See Hacquard et Dupuis, *Manuel de la Langue Songay*.

¹⁵ Mbohi. See Goldie, *Dictionary of the Efik Language*.

¹⁶ Belu. See Thomas, *Anthropological Report on the Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, vol. iii. (Dictionary).

¹⁷ Boli. See Henry, *L'Ame d'un Peuple Africain* (*Anthropos*, 1910), p. 128. A Hausa word *boli* means urine, but that, I think, is an accidental resemblance, being probably of Arab origin. *Barbara*, "to couple"—used only of animals—may have some connexion.

¹⁸ Bori. I know that there are many English names of spirits (Bogey, Beli, Barbason, etc.) which may not have the slightest connexion with each other, and there is also the word bawdy, while in Australia we find that the Bora is an initiation ceremony (*Customs of the World*, p. 1). Still, a similarity in names and rites in neighbouring countries, which have been subject to invasions by the same peoples, seems to establish so close a connexion that the possibility of a similar origin must be admitted.

¹⁹ Bori and Baal. See *Semitic Magic*, p. xxi.; Sayce, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, p. 16; *The Religion of the*

Semites, pp. 107, 108; *Dict. of Religion and Ethics*, "Ba'al"; Robinson, *Hausa Dictionary*, p. xviii.; and H.F.T., p. 5.

²⁰ Phallic worship. Ignorant Moslems and Christians in some parts of Arabia conceive of God as having a complete male organism. Moslem men at Hamath and Greek Christian women near Damascus swear by God's phallus. See Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-Day*, p. 113.

²¹ Bara. See *Serpent Worship*, p. 15.

²² Exchange of garments. *Ib.* p. 150.

²³ Tabu on relations. See Seligmann, *op. cit.* p. 231; *Semitic Magic*, p. 117, and *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 446.

CHAPTER XXX

¹ Totems and jinns. *Op. cit.* p. 130.

² Hausa animals and bori. See H.S.C., pp. 42-45, 124-131, 170, 172, etc.

³ Animal characteristics. See Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 57, who quotes several authorities.

⁴ Mounted bori. See Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 134. Also T. H. H., pp. 34, 162, and Grant, *op. cit.* p. 330: "In a French MS. of the History of the Holy Grail is a drawing of the Trinity of Evil presiding over a council of devils who are considering the birth of Merlin, the magician. . . . The host of minor devils is likened to locusts which come from the smoke that issued from the bottomless pit. They bore the likenesses of horses prepared for battle, with men's faces, lion's teeth, and women's hair. They

had crowns as of gold on their heads, and breastplates of iron." See *Devils*, p. 28.

⁵ Astarte and Tanith. See N.W.S., p. 55 ; *'Twixt Sand and Sea*, p. 30 ; *Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 16, 17 ; *Semitic Magic*, pp. 73-79 ; and *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 56.

⁶ See R.G.S. *Journal*, September 1913, p. 252.

⁷ Sa. See N.W.S., pp. 60 *et seqq.*, where several authorities are quoted : *L'Ame d'un Peuple Africain*, p. 76 ; Budge, *The Book of the Kings of Egypt*, i. p. xxvi. and ii. p. 80 ; Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, i. pp. 180, 203, and ii. pp. 89, 292, 300 ; Inman, *Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names*, i. p. 377 ; *The Origin of Civilisation*, 280 ; *Journal*, R.A.I., 1906, p. 92 ; and H.F.T., p. 22.

⁸ Spear. Similar weapons are "in use among the negro savages of Ashantee . . . where they are used to stick into the ground 'to protect the crop sown from evil spirits,' or, in other words, from the witchcraft of possessors of the evil eye" (*The Evil Eye*, p. 215).

⁹ The crocodile. See *The Evil Eye*, p. 320.

¹⁰ Hatchet. See Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, pp. 14-16.

¹¹ Afunu. See *Hausa Proverbs*, p. 92, and Sir H. Johnston, *R.G.S. Journal*, 1898, p. 608.

¹² Change of Sex. See Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 58, 478 ; and Sayce, *op. cit.* p. 240.

¹³ Bouda. See *Semitic Magic*, pp. 103, 104, quoting several authorities.

¹⁴ Saints and Demons. There seems to be a somewhat similar mixture in Tibet at certain plays where Ogres, Wild Beasts, Ghouls, Genii and Teachers—sometimes even Buddhas—appear together. The teachers represent

the early Indian priests, and (like Dan Wawa) are the buffoons of the play. See Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 537. See also *Semitic Magic*, p. 88, and Bertholon, *Recherches*, p. 605.

¹⁵ Child spirits. See *Semitic Magic*, p. 23.

¹⁶ Exorcism by string. In the story of the False Friend (H.S.C., Story 5), the mallam is guided to another hut and then driven out.

¹⁷ Dancers tied up. See "The Devil Worship of the Tuluvas" in *The Indian Antiquary*, 1894, p. 4.

¹⁸ Dances. With the Bechuanas, "What do you dance (bina)?" is equivalent to asking "What tribe (totem) are you?" Dancing was a part of the ancient worship. See Hartland, Presidential Address, *Folk-Lore*, 1901, p. 31.

APPENDIX II

BOTANICAL NOTES

A NUMBER of the following notes has been taken from *The Hausa Dictionary*, but in some cases the descriptions there do not agree with the identification of specimens which I sent to Kew, and where that has occurred, I have followed the latter authorities, of course.

Adduwa (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). A thorny tree from which gum and edible fruit are obtained. Its wood takes a good polish and is used for prayer boards.

Bagaruwa or *Gabbaruwa* (*Acacia arabica*). The bark is used in tanning. One of the ingredients of a medicine for complaints. Perhaps it has an astringent effect.

Bauje (*terminalia macroptera*). A large tree with flat, winged fruit. Bows and sticks are made from it.

Chediya. The *Chediya* is a species of ficus which yields a milky juice having some of the properties of rubber, it is akin to the *durimi* and the *gamje*.

Dafara (*Vitis* sp.). A woody climber from which a medicine or cement is made.

Dan Mutum Mutume. I do not know the plant, it is said to be one which takes root in the crannies of rocks and splits them by its growth.

Dorowa (*Parkia filicoidea*, Leguminosae). It resembles an acacia. From the fruit, in a pod, is made *dodowa* cakes or a soup.

Dundu. A fairly common shrub with stiff branches which has white or yellow blossoms. It produces a gum.

Durimi. A large species of ficus yielding a milky juice like rubber. The fruit resembles a kola-nut somewhat.

Faru. A wild stone-fruit from which a drink is made.

Gamje (ficus sp. Urticaceae). One of the rubber trees.

Gwaza (Colocasia sp. Aroideae) has large lily-like leaves. Cultivated by many pagan tribes. It causes great irritation in the throat if cooked and eaten too soon after having been picked.

Hankufa (Waltheria Americana, Buettneriaceae). A common weed.

Jato. The Money Tree. See H.S.C., p. 172. This tree is supposed to give off a ruddy light at night—an electrical discharge, perhaps. Compare with this the Gold Coast belief in a “gold smoke” indicating the presence of the precious metal. But there is some foundation for this, for the hot sun may draw up the moisture containing the fine dust, depositing it on evaporation (see *Gold Coast Palaver*, p. 110). Several plants in North Africa were supposed to change lead into gold, and some of these were said by an ancient writer to be in the gardens in Tunis and Tripoli (Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 79). They did not appear to be celebrated locally, alas! But perhaps, like prophets, they have no honour in their own country.

Jibda Kassa. A scented creeper.

Jinjiriya (Erythrina senegalensis Leguminosae). A prickly tree with scarlet blossoms.

Kabba or *Kaba.* A large species of palm with edible fruit. The name is applied especially to the young dum palm.

Kainya (Diospyros mespiliformis, Ebenaceae). The African ebony. It has a fruit. See H.S.C., Story 26.

Kalgo (*Bauhinia reticulata*, Leguminosae). A small tree with slightly fragrant leaves in which food is sometimes wrapped. The bark may be used in strips as cords, or to darken the lips of the women.

Kauchin Kalgo (*Lovanthus globifera*, Lovanthaceae). A parasite which grows upon various trees, not necessarily upon the *Kalgo*.

Kawo (*Afzelia Wanzensis*, Leguminosae). A large shady tree with thick, woody pods.

Kiriya. A small tree (which often grows on roofs) from which blacksmiths obtain charcoal. It gives also vegetable poison for arrows, and a dye used for the stripes painted on the face (*katambiri*), but not for the scarifications.

Kirmi (*Briedelia ferruginea* Euphorbiaceae). A tree from which is obtained an antidote to arrow poison.

Madowachi (*Khaya Senegalensis*, Meliaceae). The African mahogany. Its bark is used medicinally.

Magariya (*Zizyphus lotus*). A bushy tree with edible cherry-like fruit.

Magimpa (*Tephrosia vigelii*). Placed in pond to stupefy fish.

Maje (*Daniellia thurifera*, Leguminosae). The large copaiba tree.

Mantowa or *Mantawa*. A parasitic plant with fern-like leaves and green pendent fruit. One word *mantuwa* means "forgetfulness." It may be that the name of this plant signifies that the person who has taken of it forgets all else but the giver!

Namijin Gabbaruwan Kassa (*Cassia mimosoides*, Linn). Supposed to be the male plant of another species of acacia.

Nonon Kurichiya (*Euphorbia pilulifera*). A creeping plant with a pink flower and fleshy stalk which gives a white milky sap.

Ramma (*Hibiscus spinosus*, Malvaceae). A plant having a high, thin stem, from the bark of which rope is made. It may be that the idea in this charm is to bind the parties together.

Rimi (*Eriodendron anfractuosum*, Malvaceae). A large shady tree. Its seeds are enveloped in long silken hairs closely resembling the true cotton, but owing to the lack of adhesion between them, they cannot be manufactured. The Hausas use them to stuff pillows and quilted "armour."

Rogon daji gives also a poison for smearing upon arrows.

Rumafada (*Oldenlandia Heynei*, Wall). Another kind is given in the dictionary, a common herb with small white flowers (*scoparia dulcis*, *scrophularinae*).

Runhu (*Cassia goratensis*, Leguminosae). It is used by a newly made mother. See note on Chapter VII.

Sabara. A small thorny palm.

Tafashiya (*Sarcocephalus Russegeri*, Rubiaceae). A shrub with red edible fruit. Also gives poison for arrows.

Ta-Ga-Rana (*Biophytum sensitivum*, Do.). The berries are used in head-dresses for magic rites.

Taru (*Combretum spinosum*). A low undershrub used medicinally.

Tsamiya (*Tamarindus Indica*, Leguminosae). The tamarind, the acid pulp of which is sometimes used as leaven.

Tumfafiya (*Calotropis procera*, Asilepiadeae). A hoary-leaved shrub with milky juice and bladder-like capsules.

Uwal Maganguna. A shrub with purple flowers, an arrow poison is obtained from it.

APPENDIX III

A COMPARISON OF THE BORI

MANY of the spirits described in this book have not been noted by myself (nor by other observers, so far as I know) in Northern Nigeria, but it is almost certain that most of them are followed there, though the Hausas in North Africa have borrowed largely from the Arabs, and the Hausas still in Nigeria have incorporated more and more of the spirits of other tribes still pagan. This is only natural, and it is to be hoped that the Munchi bori will be described before it has disappeared altogether—it is forbidden by the Government, though our laws have not much effect in the district as yet. A record of the Kanuri, Nupe, and other forms also would be most valuable. It will probably be useful to students of such dances to compare the characters observed in North and West Africa, so the following list has been drawn up, the numbers in brackets indicating the number in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, pp. 534-540, and the initials the countries concerned.

1. ABBA. The same as *Yerima*.
2. ABUBAKAR. The same as *Magajin Yaura*. Not reported from N.N.
3. ADANI. Not reported from N.N.
4. ALFANDA 2). Another name for *Yerima*. Is now distinct in some parts of N.N. In others he is confused with *Mai-Lema*, the dancer sitting under a canopy and rocking his body from side to side, the persons holding the

cloth moving with him. Finally the sheet is held high up. Alfanda stands, then jumps, sneezes, and goes.

5. ALI. The same as *Sarikin Bakka*.

6. ALMAJIRI (4). Another name for *Ismaila*. More distinctly a fighting spirit in N.N.

7. ANAKWANCHE (5). Possibly *Mai-Ja-Chikki* in N.A., but name not known. Appears to be general paralysis.

8. ANDI (6). Not known in N.A. Said by some in N.N. to be the same as *Ba-Gobiri* (28) and *Ba-Dakuwa* (18), but more likely to be one of the *Yan Dowa*. The dancer sits down and growls, then jumps fifteen times.

9. ANGAZARI. Not reported from N.N.

10. ANGULU. Ditto.

11. ARADU (7). Not a bori in N.A.

12. ARI. Probably the same as *Gindema*. Not reported from N.N.

13. ARNI BABA or *Sarikin Noma*. Reported from N.N.

14. ARZIKKI BOBONIYA. Ditto.

15. AUTA. The same as *Kulita*.

16. AYU. Not reported from N.N.

17. BA-ABSINI (1). In Nigeria his *tsere* is an iron fork.

18. BABA. Not reported from N.N.

19. BABAM MAZZA (49). Probably what is described as his *tsere* in H.S.C. should be the sacrifice.

20. BA-DAKO. Said to be the same as *Ba-Dakuwa* (18), but the latter may be a sister.

21. BADDO. Not reported from N.N.

22. BA-DAURE. Same as *Sarikin Rafi*.

23. BA-GOBIRI (28). Said in N.N. to be the same as *Andi*.

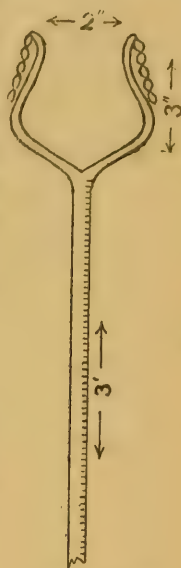


FIG. 47.—Ba-Absini's Rattle

24. BA-GUDU (30). The same as *Mai-Lema*, *q.v.*
25. BA-GWARIYA. Possibly connected with *Na Ruwa Ruwa* (59).
26. BA-JIN-CHIWU. Not reported from N.N.
27. BA-KABBA. Ditto.
28. BA-KABBI. The same as *Ibrahima*. Not reported from N.N.
29. BAKKA MASHI (47). Not known in N.A.
30. BA-LARABE. Same as *Yerima*.
31. BA-MAGUJE (45). Actions somewhat different.
32. BARAJE. Possibly the same as *Sarikin Garke* in N.A. Same as *Sarikin Barde* in N.N. (10), but movements slightly different.
33. BA-TOYE. Not reported from N.N.
34. BEBE (12). In N.A. does not cry. Said in N.A. to be the same as *Kuruma*.
35. BIDDA. Not reported from N.N.
36. BIRI (13). Does not climb in N.A.
37. BULTU. The same as *Kura*.
38. BUWAYE (14). The same as *Yerima*.
39. BUGU. The same as *Musai*. Not reported from N.N.
40. DAFO. The same as *Sarikin Makadda*.
41. DAKAKI. The same as *Mai-Ja-Chikki*.
42. DAN GALADIMA (24). The same as *Yerima* in N.A. Not a judge there.
43. DAN GOZO. The same as *Sarikin Rafi*.
44. DAN HASUMI. Not reported from N.N.
45. DANGIRA. The same as *Kaikai*.
46. DAN JIGO. Ditto.
47. DAN MAYIRO (50). Not known in N.A. In N.N. the dancer covers his head and rolls imaginary string between his fingers.

48. DAN MANZO. Same as *Manzo Karami*.
49. DAN MUSA (52). Possibly the same as *Mai-Ja-Chikki, q.v.*
50. DAN NANA (54). Not known in N.A.
51. DAN SARIKI (61). The same as *Yerima*.
52. DAN WAWA. Not reported from N.N.
53. DAUDU (19). The same as *Yerima*.
54. DAUSA. The same as *Kaikai*.
55. DOGON DAJI (16). Should be *Doguwa na Daji*.
56. DOGON GIDA (27). Should be *Doguwa na Gida*.
57. DOGUWA (21). The actions are somewhat different in N.A. from those in N.N.
58. DUBABI. Not reported from N.N.
59. DUNDURUSU. Ditto.
60. DUNGU. The same as *Kuturu*.
61. ESSYAKO. Ditto.
62. FARIN BA-LARABE. Ditto. The same as *Mai-Kasosowa*.
63. GAJERE MAI-DOWA. Ditto. Perhaps the same as *Sarikin Bakka*.
64. GAJJIMARE. Not reported as a bori from N.N. See H.S.C., p. 112.
65. GARAJE (26). Not known in N.A.
66. GARKE BABA. The same as *Jaruma*.
67. GARUJE. Not reported from N.N.
68. GAURAKA. Ditto.
69. GIMBA. The same as *Yerima*.
70. GINDEMA. Not reported from N.N.
71. GIWA. Ditto.
72. GUGAYA. The same as *Yerima*.
73. GURUGU. The same as *Kuturu*.
74. GWARI (31). The same as *Sarikin Gwari, q.v.*
75. GWEGWE. Not reported from N.N.

76. HANKAKA. Not reported from N.N.
77. HAUKACHI. Ditto.
78. IBRAHIMA (33). The *tseres* are different. In N.N. the dancer growls and beats each elbow alternately upon the ground.
79. INNA (34). Not known in N.A.
80. ISMAILA. The same as *Almajiri*. Not reported from N.N.
81. ISMAILA. The same as *Magajin Yaura*. Ditto.
82. JA-BA-FARI. The same as *Jato*, *q.v.*
83. JA GAUDE. Not reported from N.N.
84. JA-JA-MAIYA. The same as *Kulita*. Not reported from N.N.
85. JAM MARAKI. Ditto.
86. JANJARRE or JANZIRI (35). The same as *Jato*, *q.v.*
87. JARUMA. The same as *Garke Baba*. Not reported from N.N.
88. JATO. The same as *Janjare*, but the actions are slightly different.
89. JIGO. Not reported from N.N.
90. JIHU. The same as *Jigo*.
91. KADDA. Not reported from N.N.
92. KAIKAI (36). The same as *Dangira* and *Dausa*.
93. KAGUWA. Not reported from N.N.
94. KANDI. Not known in N.A.
95. KARE. The same as *Tsuguna* (62) in N.N.
96. KATALLA. The same as *Yerima*.
97. KAURA (38). The actions are different.
98. KUGARA. The same as *Babam Mazza*.
99. KULITA. The same as *Auta*, *Ja-Ja-Maiya*, and *Mai-Karewan Haijuwa*. Not reported from N.N.
100. KUMO. Not reported from N.N.

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101. KURA. The same as *Kure* (39) in N.N., but actions are somewhat different.

102. KURI. The actions differ.

103. KURUMA (40). The same as *Bebe*.

104. KUTURU (41). The same as *Dungu*, *Gurugu*, *Sarikin Kofa*, and *Uban Dowaki*.

105. KUWARA. Not reported from N.N.

106. KWOLEN KWOLMA. Ditto.

107. KWORO NA DAJI (17). Not known in N.A.

108. KWORROM. Not reported from N.N.

109. KYAMBU (42). Not known in N.A. Said in N.N. to be the same as *Sarikin Bakka*.

110. LAMBU (43). Ditto. Ditto.

111. MABA. Not reported from N.N.

112. MA-DAMBACHE (44). The same.

113. MAGAJIN YAURA. Not reported from N.N.

114. MAGIRO. No report of dance in N.N.

115. MA-HALBIYA. Not reported from N.N.

116. MAI-ASKA. The same as *Wanzami*, *q.v.*

117. MAI-BAKKIN RAI (57). Not known in N.A.

118. MAI-BULALA. Ditto. The same as *Mai-Kurafu*.

119. MAI-CHIBI. Ditto. The same as *Mai-Zumbulku*.

120. MAI-GARIN-DAURA. The same as *Sarikin Rafi*. In N.N. the doki sits down with his head covered, holding a piece of his gown in his right hand. Leans to right and to left. Then circles head with hand and pulls an imaginary beard to show that he is a chief.

121. MAI-FITILLA. Not reported from N.N.

122. MAI-GANGADDI. Ditto. The same as *Sarikin Barchi*.

123. MAI-GIDA-BIYU. The same as *Doguwa*.

124. MAI-GIDAN GORO. The same as *Yerima*.

125. MAI-GIZZO. Not reported from N.N.

126. MAI-GWORJE (32). Probably the same as *Jato*. Name not known in N.A.

127. MAI-INNA. The same as *Doguwa*.

128. MAI-JA-CHIKKI (15). The same as *Dakaki*.

129. MAI-JAN-RUWA (58). Not known in N.A. Possibly the same as *Taiki*.

130. MAI-KAREWAN HAIFUWA. The same as *Kulita*.

131. MAI-KASOSOWA. Not reported from N.N.

132. MAI-KORAIYA. Ditto. Possibly the same as *Son Bawa* (11).

133. MAI-KURADA. Ditto.

134. MAI-KURUFU. Ditto. The same as *Mai-Bulala*.

135. MAI-LEMA. The same as *Ba-Gudu*. In N.N. the actions of Alfanda are similar.

136. MAI-NASSARA. Not reported from N.N.

137. MAI-SASSARI. Ditto.

138. MAI-TUMBUTU. The same as *Sarikin Rafi*.

139. MAI-WUKA BIYU. A name for several spirits—e.g. *Manzo*.

140. MAI-WUKA-DAYA. The same as *Yerima*.

141. MAI-ZUMBULKU. The same as *Mai-Chibi*.

142. MAKAFU. The same as *Sarikin Makafi*.

143. MAKERI. The same as *Sarikin Makera*.

144. MAKU. Not reported from N.N.

145. MALLAM ALHAJI (3). The same as *Mallam Tsofo*.

146. MALLAM ALKALI. Not reported from N.N.

147. MALLAM ALI. Ditto.

148. MALLAM ALI GESHE. Ditto. The same as *Gadanga*, *Sarikin Diya*, *Sarikin Fushi*, *Sidi Ali*, and *Zakuwa*. In N.N. the dancer covers himself entirely with his gown, then placing both hands upon his waist, and becoming rigid.

149. MALLAM DAN KALGO. Not reported from N.N.

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150. MALLAM DAN SANGAMMI. Ditto.
151. MALLAM DUWATSU. Ditto.
152. MALLAM MUSHE. Ditto.
153. MALLAM TSOFO. The same as *Mallam Alhaji*.
154. MANZO BABA. Not reported from N.N.
155. MANZO KARAMI. Ditto. The same as *Dan Manzo*.
156. MARMARRA. Ditto.
157. MASAKI (46). The same.
158. MATAN SARIKIN GWARI. The same as *Ba-Gwariya*.

Not reported from N.N.

159. MAYANAN GOBIR (29). The same as *Yerima*.
160. MAYE (48). A name for several of the bori—e.g. *Mallam Duwatsu*.

161. MERAMU (51). The same as *Nana Mariyamu*.
162. MIJIN MAZZA. The same as *Mai-Nassara*.
163. MURUKUSHE. The same as *Yerima*.
164. MUSAI. The same as *Buzu*. Not reported from N.N.
165. MUSAN GAYA. Ditto.
166. NAKADA (53). The same as *Jato*.
167. NANA AYESHA BABA. Not reported from N.N.
168. NANA AYESHA KARAMA (8). Actions slightly different.

169. NANA ARZIKKI. Not reported from N.N.
170. NANA CHEDIYA. Ditto.
171. NANA DURIMI. Ditto.
172. NANA HASSANA. Ditto.
173. NANA MAGAJIYA. The same as *Uwal Yara*.
174. NANA MARIYAMU. The same as *Meramu* (51).
175. NANA MEDINA. Not reported from N.N.
176. NANA SO-JIKKI. Ditto.
177. NANA TSAMIYA. Ditto.
178. NANA TSIWA. Ditto.
179. NA RUWA RUWA (59). Not known in N.A.

According to some in N.N., it is a spirit which lives under the water and is unwilling to come to the surface, since if it looks upon a human being it will make the person sick. Possibly connected with *Ba-Gwariya*.

180. RAKO. Not reported from N.N.

181. RINNA. Ditto.

182. RISANA. Ditto.

183. RUBA. Ditto.

184. RUGE. Ditto.

185. SA'IDI. Ditto.

186. SAINYA. Ditto.

187. SALIMA. The same as *Sarikin Rafi*.

188. SAMBO (60). In N.A. the same as *Sarikin Filani*.

In some parts of N.N. the same as *Sarikin Bakka*.

189. SAMAYI. Not reported from N.N.

190. SARIKIN BAHARI. The same as *Sarikin Rafi*.

191. SARIKIN BAKKA (9). In Tunis said to be the same as *Gajere Mai-Dowa* and *Ali*. In some parts of N.N. said to be the same as *Kyembo*, *Lambu*, and *Sambo*. In N.N. his *tsere* is an iron bow about eight inches long strung with wire, to which is fitted an iron arrow some six inches in length, an iron hook keeping it fast to the bowstring. He has also a miniature axe eighteen inches in length like the N.A. *koraiya*.

192. SARIKIN BARCHI. The same as *Mai-Gangaddi*.

193. SARIKIN BARDE (10). The same as *Baraje*.

194. SARIKIN DIYA. The same as *Mallam Ali Geshe*.

195. SARIKIN FADDAMMA. The same as *Sarikin Rafi*.

196. SARIKIN FILANI. In N.A. the same as *Sambo*. In some parts of N.N. not so. In any case, actions somewhat different.

197. SARIKIN FUSHI (23). In N.A. the same as *Mallam Ali Geshe*.

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198. SARIKIN GARKE. Possibly the same as *Baraje*.
199. SARIKIN GWARI. The same as *Gwari* (31), but actions somewhat different.
200. SARIKIN KABBI. The same as *Ibrahima* (35), but *tsere* different.
201. SARIKIN KOFA. The same as *Kuturu* (41).
202. SARIKIN KOGI. The same as *Sarikin Rafi*.
203. SARIKIN MAKADDA. The same as *Dajo*.
204. SARIKIN MAKAFI. The same as *Makafo*.
205. SARIKIN MAKERA. The same as *Makeri*.
206. SARIKIN MASU. The same as *Sarikin Rafi* when he acts as a fisher.
207. SARIKIN NOMA. The same as *Arni*.
208. SARIKIN PAGGAM (55). Not known in N.A. Possibly the same as *Sarikin Faddamma*. In some parts of N.N. said to be the same as *Yerima*.
209. SARIKIN PAWA. Not reported from N.N. The same as *Sarikin Yanka*.
210. SARIKIN RAFI (56). The same as *Ba-Daure*, *Dan Gozo*, *Mai-Garin Daura*, *Mai-Tumbutu*, *Salima*, *Sarikin Bahari*, *Sarikin Faddamma* (?) and *Paggam* *Sarikin Kogi*, and *Zugu*.
211. SARIKIN YANKA. The same as *Sarikin Pawa*.
212. SHAIYU. Not reported from N.N.
213. SHAKALI. The same as *Yerima*.
214. SIDI ALI. Ditto. The same as *Mallam Ali Geshe*.
215. SON BAWA (11). Possibly the same as *Mai-Koraiya*.
216. TAIKI. Not reported from N.N. Possibly the same as *Mai-Jan-Ruwa* (58)
217. TSAGGI. Not reported from N.N.
218. TSUGUNA (62). The same as *Kare*.
219. UBAN DOWAKI. The same as *Kuturu* (41).

220. UWAL GWONA. The same as *Uwar Dawa*.

221. UWAL YARA. The same as *Nana Magajiya*.

222. UWAR DAWA. The same as *Uwal Gwona*. See H.S.C., pp. 78, III.

223. UWAR DOWA. The same as *Doguwa*.

N.B.—The final *r* and *l* are interchangeable.

224. WANZAMI (63). The same as *Mai-Aska*. Not a judge in N.A.

225. WULA. Possibly the same as *Bultu*. Not reported from N.N.

226. WURUWA. Ditto.

227. YA BIYU. Ditto.

228. YAKOBA. Ditto.

229. YAL BAWA. Ditto.

230. YAL KUNAMA. Ditto.

231. YANDU. The same as *Kuri*.

232. YAR MASO. Not reported from N.N.

233. YAURA. Ditto.

234. YERIMA. In N.A. the same as *Abba, Aljanda, Buwaye, Dan Galadima, Daudu, Gimba, Gugaya, Katalla, Mai-Gidan Goro, Mai-Wuka-Daya, Murukushe, and Shakali*. In N.N. the same as *Dan Galadima, Dan Sariki, Daudu, and Mayanan Gobir*.

235. YERRO. The same as *Kuri*.

236. YEM-YEM. The same as *Yakoba*.

237. ZAKI (64). Actions somewhat different.

238. ZAKUWA. The same as *Mallam Ali Geshe*.

239. ZANZAMMO. Not reported from N.N.

240. ZEGGIN DAN GALADIMA (25). Not known in N.A.

241. ZUGU. The same as *Sarikin Rafi*.

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